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THE FIRST RECENSION OF ROBERT GROSSETESTE'S *DE LIBERO ARBITRIO*

Neil Lewis

INTRODUCTION¹

Grosseteste's *De libero arbitrio* was first edited by Ludwig Baur in his pathbreaking edition of numerous scientific, philosophical and theological works by Grosseteste.² But until quite recently this treatise had not attracted the attention it deserves.³ Intended as a thorough investigation of the nature of free choice and the difficulties facing a belief in its existence, the treatise contains important material on a wide range of related topics and provides an excellent guide to the status of the debate over free choice around the end of the first quarter of the thirteenth century. In particular, we may single out for mention Grosseteste's penetrating and original discussion of the relationship between free choice, future contingency, and divine power, and his attempts to deal with disparate elements of the tradition

¹ I would like to thank Exeter College for permission to use a microfilm of the manuscript Oxford, Exeter College 28 for the edition of the Latin text below.

² Ludwig Baur, *Die philosophischen Werke des Robert Grosseteste, Bischofs von Lincoln*, Beiträge zur Geschichte der Philosophie des Mittelalters 9 (Münster i. W., 1912).

³ Calvin Normore, "Future Contingents" in *The Cambridge History of Later Medieval Philosophy*, ed. N. Kretzmann et al. (Cambridge, 1982), 358-81, at 364, describes Grosseteste's discussion of future contingents as "one of the most penetrating and influential medieval approaches to the question," though I think this somewhat overstates its influence. Simo Knuuttila has also noted the importance of Grosseteste's work in "Time and Modality in Scholasticism" in *Reforging the Great Chain of Being*, ed. S. Knuuttila (Dordrecht, 1981), 163-257, at 205-7. In these works the authors give surveys only of the material on future contingents. The following accounts of Grosseteste's discussions in *De libero arbitrio* are the only other ones that are at all detailed: the relevant discussion in Baur's *Die Philosophie des Robert Grosseteste*, Beiträge zur Geschichte der Philosophie des Mittelalters 18.4-6 (Münster i. W., 1917); the inaugural dissertation by Friedrich Vogelsang, *Der Begriff der Freiheit bei Robert Grosseteste* (Gütersloh, 1915); the discussion in Odon Lottin, *Psychologie et morale aux xii^e et xiii^e siècles*, 6 vols. (Gembloux, 1942-60), 1:183-85; the paper by Joseph G. Dawson, "Necessity and Contingency in the 'De libero arbitrio' of Grosseteste" in *La filosofia della natura nel Medioevo*, Atti del Terzo Congresso Internazionale di Filosofia Medioevale (Milan, 1966), 357-62; and Peter Raedts's discussion of Grosseteste's views on freedom and their influence on Richard Rufus of Cornwall in his recent book, *Richard Rufus of Cornwall and the Tradition of Oxford Theology* (Oxford, 1987).

on free choice that had come down to him. It is with this importance in mind that the present edition is presented.

De libero arbitrio has come down to us in two recensions, which, though differing in many respects, nonetheless contain much material in common. The earlier of these, which is the subject of the present paper, is represented by only one extant medieval manuscript, Oxford, Exeter College 28 (*E*). Baur printed this earlier recension in smaller print at the bottom of his edition of the other recension, breaking the text where it was repeated in the body of the later recension. Besides making the text somewhat hard to work with, this practice led to a certain degree of confusion of the differing material in the two recensions, and it also resulted in a quite unreliable apparatus. In fact, it must be noted that despite the debt students of Grosseteste owe Baur, his texts of *De libero arbitrio* contain frequent mistranscriptions and omissions and are subject to dubious editorial decisions. Furthermore, the apparatus are neither complete nor accurate, though Baur's practice of including trivial variants indicates that he aimed for completeness. With the renewed interest in *De libero arbitrio*, new editions of its text are sorely needed.

We may also note that since Baur wrote some progress has been made in identifying Grosseteste's sources, many of which, unbeknownst to Baur, are incorrectly attributed by Grosseteste, and new critical editions are now available of material that was available to Baur only in Migne's *Patrologia Latina*. We now also have a manuscript of the second recension, Florence, Bibliotheca Marucelliana C. 163 (*M*), which was not known to Baur and which is of some value in reconstructing the text in those passages shared by the two recensions (and of great value in reconstructing the text of the later recension).

It is my aim in this paper to provide a new edition of the first recension of *De libero arbitrio*. In the remainder of this introduction I have tried to present an overview of the current state of knowledge regarding this text, but much work still remains to be done; in particular there is a need for doctrinal studies and studies of the influence of this work by Grosseteste on later writers.⁴

The Recensions of *De libero arbitrio*

De libero arbitrio is contained in four extant medieval manuscripts.⁵ Of these, three were known to Baur. He noted that they contained two

⁴ Peter Raedts's *Richard Rufus* is an important step in this direction.

⁵ The manuscripts are Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana Plut. 18 dext. 7 (*F*);

recensions of the work, but he had very little to say about the relationship between these recensions. Nevertheless, a scrutiny of the texts indicates that the manuscripts *F*, *W*, and *M* contain a later reworking of material in *E*.⁶ This is indicated in a number of ways, including the introduction of cross-references and fuller citations, the less tentative tone of the text, and, most importantly, the lengthy expansion of material in *E* of a theologically sensitive nature. There is also the deletion of material in *E*, notably its chapter 3.⁷

Doctrinally the two recensions do not differ to any great extent. The greatest differences between them are the deletion of chapter 3 of the first recension and the complete revision of its chapter 9 in the later recension's chapter 8. In the earlier recension's chapter 3, Grosseteste introduces Anselm's distinction between antecedent and sequent necessity, identifying it with Boethius's distinction between simple necessity and necessity of the condition, and using it to suggest a solution to the difficulties associated with divine foreknowledge. This material is entirely lacking in the later recension, in which the following modal distinctions are at play in the account of foreknowledge: a distinction between a notion of necessity as immutability of truth and necessity as a matter of the lack of a power *ab aeterno* for falsehood; and associated distinctions between the other modal notions of

Florence, Biblioteca Marucelliana C. 163 (*M*); Worcester, Cathedral Library F. 152 (*W*); and Oxford, Exeter College 28 (*E*). According to Tanner, the first recension was also contained in London, British Library Cotton Otho D.x before the fire of 1731; this part of the manuscript was destroyed by fire. There are also two seventeenth-century manuscript copies of the Exeter text. For details, see S. Harrison Thomson, *The Writings of Robert Grosseteste* (Cambridge, Mass., 1940), 90-91.

⁶ There is also some reason to think that the text in *W* is an abbreviation of the final recension, as the manuscript omits segments of the text in ways not easily attributable to scribal error. It is not clear what view Baur took in regard to the order of composition of the recensions. In his edition he refers to the recension found in *F* and *W* as recension I, and to the other recension as recension II (*Werke*, 150), suggesting perhaps that he believes the recension found in *E* was later than the other. However, in his introduction to the text (pp. 107*-113*) he seems to treat the recension found in *F* and *W* as a reworked version of that in *E*, and on page 157, in regard to chapter 3 of the recension in *E*, he notes, "Totum hoc capitulum omittitur in recens. posteriori Fl et Wc," suggesting, in agreement with me, that the recension found in *F* and *W* is later. I suspect that his references to recensions I and II should not be understood to indicate an order of composition so much as the order or priority he gives the texts in his edition.

⁷ For added cross-references in the other recension, see Baur, *Werke*, 170.6, 170.12-13, 172.10, 221.4. This recension also contains references to a number of texts not mentioned in the first recension. The movement to a less tentative statement of views may be noted in the following passages (the first page reference is to the first recension, the second to the second recension): Baur, *Werke*, 168.35/168.26, 178.23-24/179.6-8, 181.23/177.2-5, 199.27/198.12-15, 207.35/208.11, 211.33/211.23-25. On the tentative nature of much of Grosseteste's writing, see Sir Richard Southern, *Robert Grosseteste: The Growth of an English Mind in Medieval Europe* (Oxford, 1986), 35-37.

possibility and contingency. The distinction between two kinds of necessity, which is quite different from Anselm's, is also prominently located in chapter 7 of the earlier recension, and it is likely that its chapter 3 represented a holdover from an earlier period in Grosseteste's thought on modality.⁸

In chapter 9 of the earlier recension we find a sophisticated account of divine power. This material is completely reworked in the second recension. In the earlier recension the focus is on issues concerning divine power as such, but at two points Grosseteste touches on matters that raise important theological issues. First, in order to support his claim that the divine power, though not distinct from the divine act, nonetheless somehow precedes it, he claims that there is a precedence (*praecessio*) of the Father to the Son in the Trinity. In the later recension he devotes considerable space to explaining how he intends nothing heretical by this talk of precedence. Second, in the earlier recension he claims that there is a plurality of eternal relations that are not God. This too is of dubious orthodoxy, as God alone is thought to be eternal (in Boethius's sense). The solution to this problem is very briefly touched upon in this recension but is presented in great detail in the later one, where it is also introduced to handle a similar problem concerning the eternal truths. The result of these long digressions in the later recension is that the account of divine power that previously was so tightly presented is presented rather more loosely, though the two recensions exhibit no doctrinal differences.

In the remainder of the text found in *E* there are no doctrinal differences from the later recension. There are, however, some expansions, contractions and transpositions of material, and the text in *E* lacks the final four chapters of the later recension. It is likely that *E* does not contain the complete text of the first recension of the treatise, but rather that the scribe failed to finish copying or had before him an incomplete exemplar, for although Grosseteste does explicitly refer in 14.3 to later material that will help explain an earlier discussion, he never gets to this material in the text that we have.

Doctrinal Overview

Having noted these divergences between the recensions, I shall give a brief doctrinal overview of the contents of the first recension of *De libero arbitrio*. More detailed comments on noteworthy points in the text and detailed references to works referred to by Grosseteste may be found in the notes.

⁸ Such a period seems to be indicated by Grosseteste's opusculum *De scientia Dei* (ed. Baur, *Werke*, 145-47), in which Anselm's distinction alone is employed and which bears close verbal parallels to chapter 3 of the first recension.

The treatise commences by proposing to investigate free choice, at which point Grosseteste goes on to consider whether it exists. The discussion falls into two main parts. In the first (chaps. 1-15) Grosseteste presents arguments against the existence of free choice. These, and the complications they introduce, occupy the bulk of the text of the first recension found in *E*. The second part (chaps. 16-18) concerns arguments for the existence of free choice and a discussion of various apparently conflicting accounts of its nature. In the later recension Grosseteste expressly presents the treatise as revolving around the questions *an sit?* and *quid sit?* and, as here in the first recension, holds that the former question must be investigated from the outset.⁹

The first part deals with the following obstacles to a belief in free choice: God's foreknowledge (chaps. 1-9) and predestination (chap. 10), the truth of a *dictum* about the future (chaps. 3, 5, 7-9), divination and prophecy (chap. 3), the necessity of fate (chap. 13), grace (chap. 11), compulsion by temptation (chap. 15) or some force to sin (chap. 14), and the fact that we sin by means of free choice (chap. 12). In his typically modest way he admits that there are probably other difficulties he cannot recall. These matters are given unequal attention and are not discussed in the sequence stated in chapter 1. By far the most attention is given to the question of God's foreknowledge and the closely related problem posed by true *dicta* about the future.

In chapter 1 Grosseteste states the classical problem of how we can have free choice if God knows what we will do and his knowledge of this is itself necessary. In chapter 2 he attacks the attempt to solve the problem by denying that God has knowledge of singulars. He suggests another line of reply in chapter 3: since part of the problem is raised by the logical principle *ex necessario sequitur solum necessarium*, maybe we should reject the principle. In chapter 3 he suggests that in the context of the Anselmian modal notions of antecedent and sequent necessity this rule in some sense fails when it is formulated in terms of sequent necessity. This solution would also accomodate the problems that divination, prophecy, and truths about the future raise for free choice, for in each of these cases this modal principle is crucial to formulation of the problems. But the sense in which Grosseteste

⁹ Grosseteste expresses his preference for this order of procedure in his *Physics* commentary, too. Thus he writes of Aristotle: "Demonstrat quid est natura cum prius sit demonstrare an sit, cum* sit manifestum naturam esse" [* I read "cum" for "una"] (in *Commentarius in VIII libros Physicorum Aristotelis*, ed. R. C. Dales [Boulder, 1963], 33). The source of this distinction seems to be *Posterior Analytics* 2.1. For Grosseteste's discussion of this text, see his *Commentarius in Posteriorum Analyticorum Libros*, ed. P. Rossi (Florence, 1981), 287-302.

wishes to deny this principle is not altogether clear. He himself notes that its denial seems contrary to the “rules of dialectic, by which it is said that from the necessary does not follow the contingent but only the necessary” (3.12), but he suggests, without yet committing himself, that this is only true of “antecedent and absolute necessity, not of sequent and conditional necessity” (3.12). This general line of solution in which the modal rule is attacked reappears in chapter 7, but the discussion of the rule there concerns different modal notions.

Before giving his definitive answer (in chapter 7), in chapter 4 he first raises and replies to some incorrect solutions to the problem of foreknowledge. The first reply (4.1) says that “God knows A” is not necessary since A, for example, *that Antichrist will be*, is not itself necessary. The second reply (4.2) says that God only begins to know something when it happens, and hence can not-know what he knows. In reply Grosseteste says that these responses entail that God’s knowledge is changeable. This does seem to be implied by the second reply, but it is not so clear in the case of the first. In fact, here for the first time we find Grosseteste tacitly introducing the notions of necessity as *immutability* and contingency as *mutability* which will figure henceforth in his discussion. Hence to say that “God knows A” is not necessary but is contingent implies, under this conception of contingency, that God’s knowledge is changeable.

In chapter 5 Grosseteste gives positive arguments for the necessity of divine foreknowledge and *dicta* about the future. The focus here is on a notion of necessity as immutability. Again, he raises the question of the modal principle and difficulties in denying it.

In chapter 6 he gives authorities that suggest a denial in some sense of the modal principle, as they suggest that from the necessary reasons of things in the divine mind follow contingent things.

Chapter 7 is one of the most important in the treatise. It contains the solution to the problem foreknowledge and future truth pose for maintaining contingency and hence free choice, and it also contains an extended account of Grosseteste’s views on modality; most of it is common to both recensions. The crux of his solution here is to identify two notions of necessity—the notion of immutability noted above and a new notion of the necessary as that which lacks a power *ab aeterno* for its opposite. This latter notion is the key to the problem of divine foreknowledge and free choice: God’s knowing is immutable and hence necessary in the former sense, but it is contingent in the latter, and what follows from it is also contingent in this latter sense. That is to say, although God’s knowledge cannot change, nonetheless *ab aeterno* he has a power not to know what he knows. This is the contingency Grosseteste wants to maintain and seems to think is

sufficient contingency for free choice. This distinction allows him to maintain *in some sense* the suggested denial of the modal principle mentioned in chapter 3, while also accepting it in another sense. The contingent *ab aeterno* can follow from the immutably necessary, and in this sense the principle fails, but the principle *does* hold when the same family of modal notions is at issue, that is, in the way logicians conceive it: "the necessary does follow syllogistically from necessities *in that sense of necessity that the antecedents have*. . . . *Never from necessary sentences does a conclusion follow that does not have a necessity corresponding to the premises*" (7.11). All his talk of the denial of the modal principle, then, seems to boil down to the point that there *is* a sense of contingency *ab aeterno* that applies to God's knowledge, future *dicta*, and what they predict, and that their necessity *in another sense* is compatible with this kind of contingency. And the only contingency that is required for free choice is this contingency *ab aeterno*.

In chapter 8 Grosseteste raises difficulties that this line of solution suggests. He has ascribed to God a power from eternity not to know what he knows and vice versa, and he has ascribed to future-tensed *dicta* a power from eternity to be false if true and vice versa. But the notion of such powers *ab aeterno* is problematic. In chapter 8 the problems are set out; in chapter 9 they are tackled.

Several difficulties face such a notion of power. Grosseteste subscribes to the view that powers, if they are genuine and not in act, must be reducible to act. But he realizes that there are reasons to think that these eternal powers are not reducible to act. A power without its act is only a power for that act in regard to a *future* act. But a power *ab aeterno* is not the sort of power that can come to be actualized in the future. It seems then that it is not reducible to act and hence not a genuine power. Furthermore, the eternal powers of *dicta* are for acts of the kind "to be false without beginning," and such an act cannot *start* to obtain if at present it is not actual. So again it seems that these powers are not reducible to act. Further difficulties arise regarding the idea that powers are prior to their acts in some sense. Now since the act of eternal powers is itself eternal, what precisely could this priority be? It certainly could not be a temporal priority of the kind there seems to be between our powers and their acts, nor does Grosseteste think that any notion of natural priority involving a distinction of natures will apply. In chapter 9 he attempts to solve these problems in a penetrating and sophisticated account of divine power—arguably the most original part of the whole treatise. I can only touch on the issues here and briefly note the two main strategies for solving the problems noted. As regards the problem of priority, by analogy with the members of the

Trinity Grosseteste suggests that eternal powers are *causally* prior to their acts, this priority being indicated by the use of the past tense in terms like “potuit” and “posset” (9.1, 9.2). As regards the problems of the reduction of power to act, Grosseteste ingeniously mobilizes the Aristotelian notion of rational powers (9.7). The mark of such a power is that it embraces opposite acts; the power to talk, for example, is *identical* with the power to be silent. Now the objections, which assumed that Grosseteste was holding that some of God’s powers are not in act, rested on the view that a power that was not in act was reducible to act. Grosseteste agrees with this principle but replies that the assumption is wrong: in God’s case his powers are rational powers and are always in act, since one of the opposites they embrace is always exercised. Thus the objection fails to get a foothold. Of course, this reply does not obviously deal with the power of a *dictum* for truth or falsity *ab aeterno*, which was a supposition he also made in chapter 7, as *dicta* can hardly be said to have rational powers. In 9.5, however, Grosseteste states, without elaboration, that the eternal powers of *dicta* should be reduced to or interpreted in terms of the divine powers, thus allowing himself to use his account of God’s rational powers to handle the notion of the eternal powers of *dicta*.

In chapter 10 Grosseteste takes up a special problem predestination poses for free choice. As predestination is a cause that necessarily exists and gives rise to its effect, it would seem that its effect must also be necessary. Suppose then that it is predestined that Peter will be saved; then the fact *that Peter will be saved* is necessary, and so it would seem that Peter’s free choice plays no role in regard to his salvation. The solution here involves getting clear on what the effect of predestination is. It is not the simple state of affairs *that Peter will be saved* but the more complex state of affairs *that he will be saved contingently*. So what is necessary is *that Peter will be saved contingently*, and since “Necessarily p” entails “p” we may conclude that Peter will be saved *contingently*, and hence we are not forced to deny his freedom a role in his salvation.

In chapter 11 Grosseteste notes that in a similar way God’s grace, that is, his will, does not necessitate Peter’s being saved, for God does not will *that Peter be saved*, but *that he be saved on the basis of his free choice*.

Yet predestination and grace raise another difficulty. Even though they do not impose necessity, still, as they cause the *whole* effect they seem to leave no role for free choice in man’s acts, since it seems that such a *causa totius* could not have an assistant or co-effecting cause. But free choice is thought of as that by which we are assistants of God in the production of the gratuitous good. So we have a problem: If free choice plays such a role, it seems that grace cannot be a total cause; whereas if grace is thought of as a total cause, free choice cannot play such a role.

Grosseteste's solution derives from St. Bernard of Clairvaux. Following Bernard, Grosseteste distinguishes causes that produce some whole by a divided work from those that do it by an undivided work. If things act by a divided work, a total cause cannot have an assistant, for then it would be insufficient and not really a total cause. But if they act with an *undivided* work (*opus individuum*), they do not act together because one is insufficient and requires the other; rather, each produces the whole effect, and in these cases it may be appropriate to call one an assistant, namely, that which acts as a secondary cause. Free choice here plays the role of a proximate secondary cause, God's grace that of a proximate primary cause, and they both act together with an undivided work. Grosseteste thinks that we also find two total causes acting with an undivided action in more mundane cases of causality involving light, though he suggests that one would only talk of one cause as an assistant where free choice was involved.

In chapter 12 Grosseteste raises the objection that since an inability to sin is better than an ability to sin, God, having created the universe as good as can be, would have created us without an ability to sin, and hence without free choice. Grosseteste's solution follows lines already set by Augustine: the ability to sin is required for our acts to be voluntary and makes for the overall good of the universe. The objection fails by failing to take into account which factors make for the good of the whole.

In chapter 13 Grosseteste discusses the compatibility of fate and free choice. Following Boethius he identifies fate in one sense with providence and in another with a "disposition inhering in mobile things." The former is the unfolding of the temporal order of things as it is unified in the gaze of the divine mind; the latter is that same order arranged and unfolded in time. In each case there is no difficulty in maintaining the existence of fate and free choice, as this ordering of things is an ordering for things to occur in part contingently due to the operation of free choice. Fate, however, is also understood as "the necessity of all lower things on the basis of the order and turning of the constellations" (13.4). This kind of fate is incompatible with free choice, but Grosseteste, following Augustine, while not denying that the celestial motions may have an effect on us, claims that the soul is always stronger than them; thus he denies the existence of fate in this sense of an irresistible necessity imposed upon our wills.

In chapter 14 he discusses the objection that sin can dominate us and hence that we are not free. Grosseteste argues that we voluntarily subject ourselves to sin. It can dominate us, but only due to our choosing for it to do so, and this does not remove freedom. But, the objection might be pressed, suppose that having subjected ourselves to it, we can in no manner evade the "yoke of servitude." Surely now we have lost freedom, as Scripture

suggests? Grosseteste puts off the solution of this problem until he has investigated the kinds of freedom (i.e., the tripartite division introduced by St. Bernard). This is not done in this recension, indicating either that he had not finished the treatise or that the scribe did not complete copying it or had before him an incomplete exemplar.

In chapter 15 Grosseteste discusses how one can act out of free choice if compelled, though he never makes it clear just why cases of compulsion should be a difficulty for a believer in free choice; after all, he gives no reason for thinking that we are *always* compelled. I suspect that his concern is that in cases of compulsion something exercises a power over our will and that this might be thought to undermine his Augustinian view that nothing can compel the will, and hence undermine the view that there is free choice in this sense. Thus Grosseteste raises the doubt whether the will not to lie is compelled if someone lies out of a fear of death. But Grosseteste thinks that this is not strictly speaking a case in which the will itself is compelled but is rather a case in which one has conflicting wills, and a will other than the will not to lie issues into act—for example, the will to live or the complex will-to-lie-in-order-to-live. We may, if we wish, say that the will not to lie is compelled in the sense that it loses out in the conflict of wills and fails to issue into act, but it is not compelled in the sense that the fear forces one to stop willing not to lie, and it is this which would be incompatible with his Augustinian notion of the will.

At this point the negative part of the treatise is complete. In chapter 16 Grosseteste gives positive arguments to show that there is free choice. They are on the whole standard. He points to such phenomena as precept, counsel, prohibition, praise, punishment, embarrassment, criticism, accusing conscience, etc., and then he cites authorities from biblical, Patristic and medieval sources.

In chapter 17 Grosseteste begins his positive account of the nature of free choice, but it is preceded by a discussion of whether free choice is said univocally of God, angel, and man, a question that bears on the differing definitions of free choice extant in his day and which Grosseteste thinks will explain why philosophers have come up with differing views on the nature of free choice. Grosseteste's own view on the matter of univocity is that nothing is univocally said of creature and Creator, and yet that the rational creature, in that it is a close, assimilated trace of the Creator, may share the same name "by a close, imitatory similarity." This allows Grosseteste to explain how different writers—notably Anselm and Lombard—gave such different definitions of free choice. Anselm, for whom no power *ad utrumque* seems to be involved in free choice, attended to the close similarity between Creator and creature and gave a definition common in this sense

to both. Others, however, attended to their *essential* diversity and gave differing definitions of free choice in each case, or even denied the existence of free choice in God, a denial Grosseteste rejects.

Grosseteste now goes on to derive both Anselm's notion of free choice as a power to maintain uprightness of will for its own sake and the notion of free choice as a power to choose *ad utrumque*, and to show how each can apply not just to creatures but also to God and the confirmed angels. But since God and the confirmed angels cannot sin, an account of freedom that applies to them and to man cannot make the ability to sin an essential part of freedom. Thus Grosseteste will reject any definition of free choice which essentially requires a power to sin. But first Grosseteste must give some reasons for ascribing free choice to God and to the confirmed angels. In fact, God and the confirmed angels are not just free but are freer than man since they cannot lose the voluntary good. Moreover, Boethius himself argues that free choice is possessed by *every* rational nature in that reason brings with it a power to discern between good and evil, and this power would be pointless unless it were accompanied by a power to choose good and shun evil, which is to say that any rational nature must have free choice. In chapter 18 Grosseteste continues to provide arguments for this viewpoint and provides a derivation of Anselm's definition of free choice as a power to maintain uprightness of the will for its own sake.

But the Anselmian view he has presented seems to find no place for a conception of free choice as a *flexibilitas ad utrumque*. Such a *flexibilitas* seems to be implied by Peter Lombard's conception of free choice as a "faculty of the will and reason by which the good is chosen with the assistance of grace or evil without its assistance"; what can be said for this view? Certainly the Boethian arguments that would ascribe free choice to every rational creature seem to support such a view. But how could we ascribe such a power to God who cannot sin? The answer is that God cannot sin, but a power *ad utrumque* is not necessarily a power *to sin* or *not to sin*. It is rather a power to choose between a set of options, each of which might be morally indifferent and equally well-chosen. The power here is a power of doing well, but "is not simply the same as the power to sin" (18.7). This allows Grosseteste a way to maintain an approach along Lombard's general lines while at the same time ascribing free choice to God. Free choice is to be considered as "a natural and spontaneous ability of the will to turn to willing each of opposites considered nakedly" (18.23). This power is a power to sin *per accidens* in our case, but this is not of its essence. The result of this discussion of the Anselmian and Lombardian approaches is to show that there is a way on either approach to ascribe free choice to both God and creatures, since the ability to sin is not an

essential part of free choice on either approach. At this point our text of the first recension of *De libero arbitrio* ends.

Grosseteste's Sources in the First Recension of *De libero arbitrio*

In *De libero arbitrio* Grosseteste draws from an eclectic mix of scriptural, Patristic, and pagan sources indicative of his wide learning. The work also demonstrates his acquaintance with the intellectual currents of his day in logic.¹⁰

1. Anselm

In *De libero arbitrio* Grosseteste makes use of three of Anselm's works: *Cur Deus homo**,¹¹ *De concordia**,¹² and *De libertate arbitrii**.¹³ There is little doubt that he was well acquainted with Anselm's writings. We may note in particular three important ways he draws from Anselm. First, the *De concordia* clearly provided a general backdrop to Grosseteste's discussion of future contingents and predestination. (In the second recension of *De libero arbitrio* Grosseteste explicitly indicates that the argument he is providing for the incompatibility of free choice and divine knowledge is not to be found in Anselm or Boethius.) The *De concordia* and *Cur Deus homo* provide Grosseteste with the distinction between antecedent and sequent necessity which he employs in chapter 3 and in the discussion of predestination. This distinction is also employed in his opusculum *De scientia Dei*, suggesting that the earlier recension of *De libero arbitrio* and *De scientia Dei* were composed in roughly the same period. Second, it is Anselm's discussion of the sense in which God can and cannot do things that provides Grosseteste with the analytic framework for attacking the problem of divine power and the sense in which divine power is prior to its act. Finally, Anselm of course provides Grosseteste with a conception of free choice which

¹⁰ In what follows I have marked with an asterisk works that are noted by Hunt as being listed in the *tabula* that contains Grosseteste's system of indexing symbols. See R. W. Hunt, "The Library of Robert Grosseteste" in *Robert Grosseteste: Scholar and Bishop*, ed. D. A. Callus (Oxford, 1955), 121-45. For further details on Grosseteste's system of indexing symbols, see S. Harrison Thomson, "Grosseteste's Topical Concordance of the Bible and the Fathers," *Speculum* 9 (1934): 139-44; and idem, "Grosseteste's Concordantial Signs," *Medievalia et humanistica* 9 (1955): 39-53. Although we cannot be certain of this, it is likely that many of the works cited by Grosseteste and listed in the *tabula* were part of his personal library. In the notes that follow, paragraph numbers of the edition are given for passages in which Grosseteste cites such texts.

¹¹ 3.4.

¹² 1.1, 5.7, 6.6, 8.11, 9.2.

¹³ 17.2, 18.2, 18.7.

Grosseteste thinks is natural for us to adopt when we attend to the similarities between God and creatures, rather than to their essential diversity. Grosseteste is concerned to endorse this conception of free choice but sees that somehow he must fit it into the picture of free choice as a *vertibilitas* of the will, and in chapter 18, as we have noted, he devotes himself to explaining these divergent conceptions of free choice.

2. Aristotle

Aristotle's influence in *De libero arbitrio* is marginal. (On this point it is interesting to compare Grosseteste's *De libero arbitrio* to Alexander of Hales's contemporary *Quaestiones*, where Aristotelian influence and terminology is far more marked.) It seems to derive mainly from the *logica vetus*, in particular *De interpretatione*.¹⁴ Grosseteste accepts the Aristotelian view, enunciated in *De interpretatione* 9, that everything that is, when it is, is necessary to be. There also seems to be evident in 9.4 some influence from Aristotle's discussion of priority in chapter 12 of the *Categories*. But the most important idea Grosseteste draws from Aristotle is that of rational powers, powers that may be exercised by either of opposite acts. The *locus classicus* for this doctrine is, of course, *Metaphysics* theta, but it is more likely that Grosseteste was drawing upon the remarks in *De interpretatione* 13 or in Boethius's commentaries thereon. Grosseteste uses this doctrine to rebut the objection that to posit unactualized powers in God is to posit powers that could not be reduced to act, by arguing that since God's powers are rational, and he always does one of opposites, there are no unactualized powers in God, even though there are things he can do that he in fact is not doing. There is also a brief reference in 11.7 to Aristotle's views on the eternity of matter, which suggests some knowledge of the *Physics*, as does Grosseteste's reference to the infinite divisibility of magnitudes in 8.3. It seems likely that at the time of writing the first recension of *De libero arbitrio* Grosseteste was beginning to come to grips with Aristotle's physical and metaphysical works.¹⁵ In the second recension there is a slightly more Aristotelian tone; in particular, at the end of the treatise Grosseteste lists a series of questions on free choice that he has not dealt with. They are distinctly Aristotelian in nature, concerning such matters as whether free

¹⁴ 5.7, 8.2, 9.6.

¹⁵ In his recent discussion of the chronology of Grosseteste's works, Southern maintains that the earlier part of his commentary on the *Physics*, in which Grosseteste considers these issues, is fairly early, say, before about 1225. See *Robert Grosseteste*, 133-34. McEvoy prefers to date the commentary ca. 1228-32. See James McEvoy, *The Philosophy of Robert Grosseteste* (Oxford, 1982), 514, 519.

choice is a self-mover, whether it falls under one of the categories, whether, if it is a substance, it is a first or second substance, whether it is simple or composite, etc. It is evident that Grosseteste clearly saw the new directions that discussions of free choice were to take, but he himself belonged to an older tradition and never took this course.

3. Augustine

Augustine is the most frequently cited writer in *De libero arbitrio*, as in all Grosseteste's theological works. Grosseteste cites the following works: *In Iohannis evangelium tractatus**,¹⁶ *De Genesi ad litteram**,¹⁷ *De Trinitate**,¹⁸ *Enarrationes in Psalmos**,¹⁹ *Confessiones**,²⁰ *De libero arbitrio voluntatis**,²¹ *De civitate Dei**,²² and *In epistolam Iohannis ad Parthos*.²³ He also draws quotations from a *De poenis purgatorii* and *Unde malum*, which are parts of the *Enarrationes* and *De libero arbitrio* respectively. Augustine's role in the treatise is primarily to provide passages in support of the sort of positions Grosseteste wishes to maintain, rather than to provide him with detailed defenses of positions or with novel ideas. Thus Grosseteste shows how certain passages in Augustine support the view that God knows singulars, that God's knowledge is immutable, that in the mind of God are the unchangeable reasons of things, that God is sufficient unto himself, and that fate as an irresistible force on our wills does not exist. Grosseteste also draws from the *De libero arbitrio* the view that nothing has power over the will, a view which he employs in his discussion of fate.

4. Bernard of Clairvaux

In the later recension of *De libero arbitrio* Bernard of Clairvaux's tripartite notion of *libertas* plays an important role in Grosseteste's discussion. But in the material that has survived in *E* this is not so. Rather, in this material Bernard's *De gratia et libero arbitrio**²⁴ provides Grosseteste with three ideas. First, and most importantly, it provides Grosseteste with the concept of two things acting by an *undivided* action in their production of some effect.

¹⁶ 1.1, 4.5.

¹⁷ 2.8, 4.4, 4.5, 6.4, 12.8.

¹⁸ 2.8, 4.4, 4.5.

¹⁹ 2.8, 13.4.

²⁰ 4.4, 4.6, 6.2.

²¹ 11.10, 11.16, 13.6.

²² 13.5.

²³ 16.22, 16.23.

²⁴ 11.7, 11.11, 12.10, 16.26.

The idea, roughly, is that each thing in such a case produces the whole effect itself. Grosseteste thinks that this notion can allow us to explain the unified causal roles of grace and free choice in the production of meritorious actions rather than our being forced to say that if one is operative, the other cannot be. Second, Bernard provides support for the idea that free choice, although as given to man it involves a power to sin, was not given that he might sin, but rather that, while having this possibility of sinning, he might choose good. Finally, Grosseteste's discussion of compulsion in chapter 13 is directly indebted to a parallel discussion in Bernard's *De gratia* 12, 38-39.

5. *Boethius*

Grosseteste appeals to only one work by Boethius, his *Consolation of Philosophy*.*²⁵ As with Anselm, Boethius provides Grosseteste with a general background for the discussion of the compatibility of divine foreknowledge and human freedom. Also, as with Anselm, Grosseteste appropriates from Boethius a modal distinction, that between absolute necessity and necessity of the condition, which he identifies with Anselm's distinction between antecedent and sequent necessity. Boethius also provides numerous passages illustrative of doctrines Grosseteste wishes to maintain. But more importantly, he provides Grosseteste (and the medievals in general) with a classical conception of fate according to which it can be identified either as divine providence or as the nexus of causes. In either sense, Grosseteste thinks, fate is quite compatible with free choice; it is in another sense that fate must be rejected. Boethius's discussion of fate is also employed by Grosseteste to provide a distinction between two kinds of terms, "terms of providence" and "terms of a disposition inhering in mobile things." This distinction is tacitly employed in chapter 9 (but explicitly in chapter 8 of the later recension) to underly Grosseteste's view, which does not seem standard, that a statement of the form "God knows X" could not change truth-value without God himself changing. The usual view seems rather to have been that such statements can change truth-value, but that such changes reflect a change in creatures, in what is known, rather than in God. This was Alexander of Hales's view.²⁶ Finally, Boethius was also a source for the notion of free choice. He provides Grosseteste with an argument to the effect that any rational nature (and hence God and the confirmed angels) must have free choice, and thus that free choice cannot essentially involve the power to sin.

²⁵ 2.5, 2.6, 3.7, 6.3, 10.5, 13.1, 17.14.

²⁶ See the passage quoted in the notes to 9.11.

6. Cicero

Grosseteste cites both Cicero's *De divinatione**²⁷ and his *De natura deorum**.²⁸ Cicero provides a pagan authority that God knows singulars, but more importantly he provides Grosseteste with a distinction between two conceptions of fate: one of fate as the order and series of causes, which Grosseteste accepts and identifies with fate in Boethius's second sense, and another of fate as "what cannot be turned," a necessity imposed on all lower things by the order and motions of the heavenly bodies. Grosseteste, while not denying that the heavenly bodies exercise some influence on us, holds, following Augustine, that our will is always more powerful. This second conception of fate, then, is to be rejected.

7. Eriugena

Grosseteste's references to Chrysostom are in fact to John Scotus Eriugena's *Homilies on the Prologue of John*.²⁹ This work by Eriugena is found in a number of early Anglo-Norman manuscripts ascribed to a *beatus Ioannes*, and it was understood to be a work by Chrysostom, who also wrote homilies on John. Eriugena provides Grosseteste with the notion of a *causal* priority between the persons of the Trinity which Grosseteste then extends to the relation of priority between the divine power and act, thus solving a problem raised in chapter 8 about the sense in which an eternal power could be prior to its act.

8. Gennadius of Marseilles

Under the name of Augustine Grosseteste lists a work now generally thought to have been written by Gennadius of Marseilles, which he entitles *De definitione rectae fidei**;³⁰ it is often referred to nowadays as *Liber ecclesiasticorum dogmatum*. In this work is proposed the view that although with the Fall man lost his strength of choice (*vigor arbitrii*), nonetheless he did not lose his capacity for choice (*electio*).

9. Jerome

As seems the case generally with Grosseteste's Patristic sources, Jerome does not provide Grosseteste with particular doctrines so much as with passages that support in a general manner positions Grosseteste wishes to

²⁷ 2.5, 13.2, 13.4.

²⁸ 2.15.

²⁹ 9.1, 16.22.

³⁰ 16.20.

adopt. Like Bernard, Jerome provides support for the idea that the power to sin was given by God, though not in order that we might sin, and he provides some support for the idea of free choice as a *flexibilitas*. Grosseteste cites Jerome's *Epistula 21 ad Damasum**.³¹

10. Pelagius

Under Jerome's name Grosseteste refers to Pelagius's *Epistula ad Demetriadem**,³² which was erroneously incorporated into Jerome's corpus. Pelagius's views are used in a fairly innocuous way to indicate that Scripture shows that there is free choice and that our ability to do evil as well as good underlies the judgment of our actions. The first recension of *De libero arbitrio*, as found in *E*, contains little discussion of issues bearing on the dispute between Augustine and Pelagius.

11. Peter Lombard

In later life Grosseteste urged the regent masters in theology at Oxford to devote all of their *lectiones ordinariae* to the study of the Bible,³³ and scholars have noted that Grosseteste himself, as a teacher of theology, seems to have made relatively little use of Lombard's *Sentences*: it was his view that theology should be taught from the text of Scripture.³⁴ Yet Grosseteste did make use of Lombard's *Sentences* in his writings, and the *Sentences* are an important source for *De libero arbitrio* for two reasons. First, in a number of passages in the *Sentences* Lombard stresses that God, although immutable, nonetheless has powers not to know what he does *ab aeterno*. As Calvin Normore puts it, "By insisting on God's freedom Lombard focuses attention on a sense of 'possible' which is sharply distinguished from mutability. God can know what he does not know, but his knowledge cannot change. For Lombard, then, there are claims which can be true but which never are true."³⁵ There seems little doubt that this view, which Lombard simply states without much elaboration or defense, impressed Grosseteste and provided the starting point for his important account of divine powers *ab aeterno*. Grosseteste was also acquainted with Lombard's account of free choice as a kind of *vertibilitas* of the will and viewed it as the main alternative to Anselm's conception of free choice. Thus it is Lombard's conception of

³¹ 16.21, 16.22.

³² 12.9, 16.15, 16.19.

³³ See Daniel A. Callus, "The Oxford Career of Robert Grosseteste," *Oxoniensia* 10 (1945): 42-72, at 56.

³⁴ Lombard is quoted in 7.5 and 18.11. For his minor role in Grosseteste's theological writings, see Southern, *Robert Grosseteste*, 186-87.

³⁵ Normore, "Future Contingents," 364.

free choice that forms the other pole of his discussion in the first recension of the kinds of free choice. In the later recension Bernard of Clairvaux's distinction of three kinds of *libertas* is quite prominent, too, but it either was not discussed in the first recension or was in material that was not copied in the Exeter manuscript. Lombard no doubt is also the source for Grosseteste's idea in 17.8 that the creature is a *vestigium*, *imago*, and *similitudo* of God.

12. *Pseudo-Augustine*

Under the name of Augustine Grosseteste refers a number of times to a work entitled *Hypomnesticon**,³⁶ which was included in the Augustinian corpus. This work supports the ideas that free choice is required if we are to merit and demerit rewards, and that natural goods are in our own power, gratuitous goods require grace, whereas evil is due to our defect.

13. *Pseudo-Dionysius the Areopagite*

In 4.7 Grosseteste makes a brief reference to Pseudo-Dionysius's *De divinis nominibus* in the translation of Eriugena. This reference is of some interest as regards an argument Southern has made against the authenticity of the *Quaestiones theologicae* found in *E* and ascribed to Grosseteste. See my discussion in the note to 4.7.

14. *Seneca*

Like Cicero, Seneca is introduced as a source acceptable to pagans to show that God knows singulars. In this regard Grosseteste appeals to his *Epistulae morales** (letter 83).³⁷ In letters 58³⁸ and 45³⁹ Seneca sets out the idea that Plato's ideas are actually exemplars of things in God's mind, a view which Grosseteste, together with Augustine, also adopts. Seneca's letter to Lucilius (letter 77)*⁴⁰ also provides Grosseteste with a passage from Vergil's *Aeneid* and Seneca's comment on it, in which he refers to a notion of fate along the lines of Cicero's second notion of fate as "what cannot be turned." In chapter 9 Grosseteste makes a brief reference to Seneca's *Naturales quaestiones**.⁴¹

³⁶ 11.14, 16.24, 18.22.

³⁷ 2.5.

³⁸ 6.4.

³⁹ 6.4.

⁴⁰ 13.4.

⁴¹ 8.12.

15. Contemporary sources

The question of Grosseteste's indebtedness to his contemporaries has received little discussion in the literature, this no doubt being due in part to the relative paucity of our knowledge of the intellectual currents of the early thirteenth century. In the notes I have tried to indicate some lines of convergence of ideas between Grosseteste and his contemporaries at Paris, William of Auvergne and Alexander of Hales, but I have made no attempt to be exhaustive and I have not considered other contemporary authors such as Phillip the Chancellor and William of Auxerre, though a cursory survey of their discussions of related topics suggests no close parallels.⁴² In the case of Alexander of Hales there are remarkable similarities between parts of Alexander's tenth disputed question and chapter 2 of *De libero arbitrio*. There are also some parallels between Grosseteste's discussion of free choice and Alexander's discussion in his thirty-second disputed question. Whether this indicates a borrowing or a common source remains to be determined. There are also interesting similarities of doctrine between William of Auvergne's *De universo* and Grosseteste's *De libero arbitrio* in the discussion of divine power and the eternal truths. Both adopt the view that God is able, by the same act of knowing, to know different things, and both stress the difficulties facing a doctrine of eternal truths and relations. This suggests that there was some interchange of ideas across the channel on these issues.

Grosseteste also demonstrates that he was quite at home in the logical theories of the day.⁴³ The doctrine of the *dictum* or *enuntiabile* is something

⁴² See *Magistri Alexandri de Hales Quaestiones disputatae "antequam esset frater,"* ed. Collegium S. Bonaventurae, 3 vols. (Quaracchi, 1960); for William of Auvergne, see *De universo* (Orléans and Paris, 1674; rpt. in vol. 2 of two volumes, Frankfurt am Main, 1963). Grosseteste's letters indicate that he was personally acquainted with William. See *Roberti Grosseteste Episcopi quondam Lincolniensis Epistolae*, ed. H. R. Luard, *Rerum Britannicarum Medii Aevi Scriptores* (Rolls Series) 25 (London, 1861), letter 78, p. 250. Luard dates the letter to 1239. Scholars such as Callus and McEvoy, who support the hypothesis that Grosseteste studied at Paris during the suspension of clerics from Oxford between 1209 and 1214, have suggested that he became acquainted with William of Auvergne during this period. See Callus, "Oxford Career," 50; McEvoy, *Philosophy*, 7. It is also possible that Grosseteste personally knew Alexander of Hales, though the only mention of him in Grosseteste's letters is a reference to his death in letter 114.

⁴³ Grosseteste's relation to the logic of his day is a topic that has not been studied. It is of course true that he had an intimate—probably unparalleled—knowledge of the *logica nova*. He wrote a deservedly famous commentary on the *Posterior Analytics* and there are two ascribed manuscripts containing a *Regulae libri Priorum Analyticorum Aristotelis*, a rather dry work which nonetheless displays an intimate knowledge of Aristotle's text (contained in Modena, Estense lat. 54, fols. 1ra-48va, and Chicago, Univ. Libr. UL 968, fols. 44 ff.). A commentary on the *Sophistici elenchi* ascribed to Grosseteste also survives in Oxford, Merton College 280, fols. 3ra-37va, though this ascription is dubious. (On this,

of which he is quite aware, and he employs it throughout his discussion of modality; he also discusses the logical rule that from necessary premises only a necessary conclusion follows, talks of consequences and consecutions, employs a distinction between two kinds of absolute necessity which is reminiscent, at least in its structure, of such a distinction as is found in a number of logic texts edited by De Rijk,⁴⁴ employs the notion of the consignification of a verb, talks of univocity and equivocity, and uses the notion of a *positio per impossibile*.

In a number of places he also alludes to certain anonymous writers, probably of his day, as regards the necessity of God's knowledge (4.1, 4.2). In 9.10 he refers to some who perhaps rightly concede that any given eternal relation is God, even though no such eternal relation is another such relation. And in 17.9 he mentions some who define free choice differently from Anselm and even seem to deny it of God.

The Influence of *De libero arbitrio*

Our current state of knowledge does not support the view that Grosseteste's *De libero arbitrio* was widely read; we certainly have no explicit references to it or quotations from it in such major figures as Aquinas, Bonaventure, Ockham, or Scotus. The few thinkers we know to have been acquainted with it are all English. Of our manuscripts, *E*, *W*, and *F*, according to Thomson, are of English origin; *M* is of Italian origin, though both *F* and *M* are now extant in Italian libraries. Lottin has showed that the Oxford Franciscan master Richard Rufus (fl. mid-thirteenth century) was acquainted with *De libero arbitrio* in its second recension. In his *Commentary on the Sentences* (written ca. 1250) Richard quotes passages from this recension and employs certain of Grosseteste's ideas concerning the common root of the will and reason.⁴⁵ Lottin, whose concerns are with the development of the theory of free choice, understandably does not discuss whether in Richard's commentary there are quotations from Grosseteste's *De libero*

see Southern, *Robert Grosseteste*, 31; and Sten Ebbesen, "OXYNAT: A Theory about the Origins of British Logic" in *The Rise of British Logic*, ed. P. Osmund Lewry, *Papers in Mediaeval Studies* 7 [Toronto, 1985], 1-17. Ebbesen describes the manuscript containing the commentary and raises doubts over the ascription of the commentary to Grosseteste.) P. Osmund Lewry, in "Robert Grosseteste's Question on Subsistence: An Echo of the Adamites," *Mediaeval Studies* 45 (1983): 1-21, suggests that Grosseteste had some acquaintance with the views of the followers of the twelfth-century logician Adam Parvipontanus.

⁴⁴ See the notes to 7.4.

⁴⁵ Lottin, *Psychologie et morale* 1:185-97. Richard's commentary is found in Oxford, Balliol College 62; Lottin includes excerpts from this text. The material Richard quotes is not found in the first recension.

arbitrio concerning other matters. Callus has also pointed out some suggestion of the influence of Grosseteste's *De libero arbitrio* on the Oxford Dominican Richard Fishacre's (d. 1248) *Commentary on the Sentences*.⁴⁶ Since Lottin's and Callus's work, however, Peter Raedts has recently provided an extended discussion of Grosseteste's influence on Rufus and Fishacre and, more particularly, of the influence of *De libero arbitrio* on them. He concludes that Rufus's views on free choice and its powers are for the most part simply taken from Grosseteste and Fishacre.⁴⁷ Raedts has also indicated that use is made of *De libero arbitrio* in a commentary on Aristotle's *Metaphysics*.⁴⁸ This commentary was most probably written at Oxford around 1240. It appears to make extensive use of the discussion of God's knowledge of Antichrist's coming in chapters 4 to 8 of the second recension of *De libero arbitrio*, much of which material is also to be found in the first recension. This commentary has been thought by many to be the work of Richard Rufus, a point Raedts has disputed,⁴⁹ but work in progress by Professor Timothy Noone supports this ascription.⁵⁰

In the fourteenth century *De libero arbitrio* influenced a number of thinkers associated with Merton College. Thomas Bradwardine (ca. 1295-1349) extensively quotes passages from the first recension of *De libero arbitrio* in the latter part of his *De causa Dei*. In fact, it is most likely that he is quoting from the manuscript *E* itself. In the notes to the text I have indicated Bradwardine's quotations and where his text, as found in the London edition of 1618, diverges from that found in *E*. It will be seen that the divergences are extremely minor. Moreover, at one point in the *De causa Dei* Bradwardine cites as questions by Grosseteste two *quaestiones* included in the *Quaestiones theologicae*. To the best of our

⁴⁶ For Fishacre, see Oxford, Balliol College 57. Lottin has edited excerpts of this material in *Psychologie et morale* 1:114-16. Callus's remarks are in "Robert Grosseteste as Scholar" in *Robert Grosseteste: Scholar and Bishop*, 1-69, at 29-30.

⁴⁷ Raedts, *Richard Rufus*. In his notes Raedts provides references to citations of *De libero arbitrio* by Rufus and Fishacre. An earlier investigation of Grosseteste's influence on Rufus and Fishacre was Richard C. Dales, "The Influence of Grosseteste's 'Hexameron' on the 'Sentences' Commentaries of Richard Fishacre, O.P. and Richard Rufus of Cornwall, O.F.M.," *Viator* 2 (1971): 271-300.

⁴⁸ Raedts, *Richard Rufus*, 99.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*

⁵⁰ For use of Grosseteste's *De libero arbitrio* in this commentary, see Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica lat. 4538, fol. 101va-vb; Oxford, New College 285, fol. 237va-vb; and Erfurt, Bibliotheca Amplonia Q 290, fol. 40va-vb. I am indebted to Professor Timothy Noone of St. Bonaventure University for this information and for allowing me to view a copy of an edition he is preparing of this material. In his article, "Richard Rufus of Cornwall and the Authorship of the *Scriptum super Metaphysicam*," forthcoming in *Franciscan Studies*, Professor Noone defends the ascription of this commentary to Richard Rufus.

knowledge these questions are only extant in *E*.⁵¹ It is extremely unlikely that Bradwardine's citation of these questions and his great use of the first recension of *De libero arbitrio* is coincidental. We may thus conclude that Bradwardine in fact employed our manuscript. Bradwardine is principally interested in Grosseteste's views on modality, divine power, and predestination, though in regard to the first of these topics he refers not to Grosseteste's interesting and original discussion of modal notions in chapter 7, but to the somewhat derivative material in chapter 3, a chapter deleted in the later recension. Thomas Buckingham (d. 1350) quotes passages from the later recension of *De libero arbitrio* in his *Quaestiones contra errores Pelagii*. The first question, *Ostensio meriti liberae actionis*, which has recently been edited by Bartholomew R. De la Torre, makes considerable use of the material in chapter 6 of the later recension.⁵² John Wycliff (ca. 1330-84) quotes the second recension of *De libero arbitrio* in his *De ente predicamentali*,⁵³ his *De ente librorum duorum*,⁵⁴ and in his *De Trinitate*,⁵⁵ it is likely that further citations could be found in his corpus. In the fifteenth century Thomas Gascoigne in his *Liber de veritatibus collectis* extensively

⁵¹ See *De causa Dei* 2.31 (London, 1618; rpt. Frankfurt am Main, 1964), 598. Thomson argued that in order to explain alleged difficulties in the bibliographical tradition concerning these *quaestiones* it was necessary to suppose that at one time they existed in a separate manuscript in which they were ascribed to Grosseteste. Callus has showed that Thomson's argument for this has no force (see Thomson, *Writings*, 114; and D. A. Callus, "The *Summa Theologiae* of Robert Grosseteste" in *Studies in Medieval History Presented to Frederick Maurice Powicke*, ed. R. W. Hunt et al. [Oxford, 1948], 180-208, at 182-83).

⁵² Bartholomew R. De la Torre, O.P., *Thomas Buckingham and the Contingency of Futures: The Possibility of Human Freedom*, Publications in Medieval Studies 25 (Notre Dame, Ind., 1987). *De libero arbitrio* is quoted in the sixth, seventh, eighth, and ninth *conclusiones*. Buckingham's *Quaestiones* are extant only in Oxford, Merton College 143 and Oxford, New College 134. De la Torre gives a full discussion of them and other works by Buckingham. Thomson, in *Writings*, 90, was the first to point out Buckingham's use of *De libero arbitrio*.

⁵³ *Joannis Wiclif De ente praedicamentali*, ed. R. Beer (London, 1891; rpt. 1966), 73-74.

⁵⁴ *Johannis Wyclif De ente librorum duorum excerpta: Libri I. Tractatus tertius et quartus. Libri II. Tractatus primus et tertius; et fragmentum De annihilatione*, ed. M. H. Dziewicki (London, 1909; rpt. 1966), 7, 140.

⁵⁵ *Tractatus de Trinitate*, ed. A. D. Beck (Boulder, 1962), 144-45. It may be noted that this and the other works of Wycliff's referred to above all form part of a larger *De ente sive summa intellectualium*. Beer's edition contains the fifth tract of the first book; Dziewicki's contains the third and fourth tracts of the first book, the first and third tracts of the second book, as well as a fragment of the sixth tract; Beck's contains the fourth tract of the second book. S. Harrison Thomson has edited the first two tracts of book 1 (the *Tractatus de ente in communi* and *Tractatus de ente primo* [Boulder, 1956]), and Ivan Mueller has recently edited the sixth tract of the first book in *Tractatus de universalibus* (Oxford, 1985); this work should be consulted for a detailed discussion of the composition of Wycliff's treatise and the textual tradition.

cites passages from Grosseteste's writings, which he had the opportunity to examine at the Franciscan convent at Oxford, but he does not quote *De libero arbitrio*.⁵⁶

The Dating of *De libero arbitrio*

De libero arbitrio is one of a number of works connected in content and time of composition; the others are *De scientia Dei*, *De veritate propositionis* (which concerns future contingents), *De veritate* (in which material from the later recension of *De libero arbitrio* is included verbatim), and *De ordine emanandi causatorum a Deo*. All were edited by Baur.⁵⁷ The dating of any of Grosseteste's works is a matter of some controversy. In the case of these works, while it is generally agreed that they were composed during his tenure teaching theology at Oxford, uncertainty over the extent of this tenure extends to their dating. It is fairly clear that they bear the hallmarks of works composed by someone engaged in teaching theology in a university setting. Callus has given a good summary of their nature:

The form in which they came down to us suggests a technique rather of a treatise than of a *quaestio disputata*. Yet, the structure of the arguments against and in favour of the thesis, and certain phrases scattered here and there, which are easily traceable, may possibly hint at disputations. In all probability these opuscles originated from questions raised or disputed in the course of his theological teaching, which were later arranged and set into a definite shape as we now have them.⁵⁸

Indeed, although in the first recension of *De libero arbitrio* there is no talk of its being a *disputatio*, in the second recension Grosseteste does refer to it as such, and the scribe of the manuscript *F* has ended with the colophon "quaestiones Magistri Roberti Grossetet." The treatise contains elements of a disputation, if not the rigid structure found in other contemporary writers such as Alexander of Hales,⁵⁹ and employs various technical notions from

⁵⁶ I am indebted to the referee of the present article for this last point. On Gascoigne's use of Grosseteste, see Southern, *Robert Grosseteste*, 313-15; and Servus Gieben, "Thomas Gascoigne and Robert Grosseteste: Historical and Critical Notes," *Vivarium* 8 (1970): 56-67.

⁵⁷ Baur's editions of these texts, too, must be used with some caution. The text of *De veritate* appears to be quite good and that of *De scientia Dei* fair, but the remaining texts are rather unreliable.

⁵⁸ Callus, "Robert Grosseteste as Scholar," 29.

⁵⁹ See his *Quaestiones disputatae*. The *Quaestiones theologicae*, which have been ascribed to Grosseteste by Callus ("The *Summa Theologiae*"), do follow a fairly rigid format, but the ascription is dubious. A referee has informed me that *De libero arbitrio* is similar in structure to the contemporary questions of William of Durham and the anonymous (Pseudo-Grosseteste) *Commentarius in Romanos* 5-16 (Cambridge, Gonville and Caius 439, fols. 57rb-

and allusions to the disputational practices of the university schools—talk of questions, the citation of authorities and arguments *pro et contra*, mention of respondents, etc. Now we know that in the late 1220s Grosseteste was teaching at Oxford, as around 1229/30 he left his secular teaching post to become the first teacher of the Oxford Franciscans.⁶⁰ In the period from 1230 to 1235, after which Grosseteste became bishop of Lincoln, he composed a number of works—notably *De decem mandatis*, *De cessatione legalium*, and *Hexaameron*—differing from the theological opuscles not only in subject matter but also in their non-scholastic character: they contain no talk of providing *rationes* and *auctoritates*, of determining questions, responding, etc. Furthermore, Grosseteste is never referred to as master in any of the colophons cited in the recent editions of the aforementioned works; he is always referred to as Lord, Bishop, or Lincolnensis. This all suggests that *De libero arbitrio* and the theological opuscles were composed before these works, that is, before about 1230. We can, however, perhaps arrive at a more precise dating of about 1230 for the second recension, as it includes new material—a brief passage from Anselm's *Proslogion* coupled with material from Augustine, perhaps from the *Enchiridion*—not to be found in the earlier recension but found almost verbatim in *De decem mandatis*, a text Dales and King have dated to the early 1230s.⁶¹ In sum, *De libero arbitrio* and the related theological opuscles seem to derive from a period prior to 1229/30 when Grosseteste was teaching theology in the secular university schools, the other works mentioned being the product of new directions in his theological writings which he took after about 1230, directions involving a greater concern with biblical exegesis and pastoral matters.

Setting a *terminus a quo* for the composition of the first recension is, however, a more difficult matter. Scholars have suggested dates as varied as 1214, 1225, and 1229, dates which in all cases involve considerable conjecture. It is important here to consider the difficult question of when Grosseteste commenced teaching theology at Oxford. Callus, who is followed in this by McEvoy, suggested that Grosseteste taught the arts at Oxford as early as ca. 1198, left during the suspension of clerics between 1209 and

70rb), which consists chiefly in a number of scriptural and Patristic quotations. For a description of this work, see Thomson, *Writings*, 74-75; and Callus, "Oxford Career," 60-64; each ascribes the work to Grosseteste, but on rather weak grounds.

⁶⁰ See A. G. Little, "The Franciscan School at Oxford in the Thirteenth Century," *Archivum franciscanum historicum* 19 (1926): 803-74.

⁶¹ See *De libero arbitrio*, chap. 2 (Baur, *Werke*, 157.11-18); and *De decem mandatis* 1.1 (ed. R. C. Dales and E. B. King, *Auctores Britannici Medii Aevi* 10 [Oxford, 1987], 6).

1214, probably going to Paris, and returned in 1214, after which time he would have taught theology, having in all likelihood received a training in theology while in Paris. But Southern has recently put forward the suggestion that Grosseteste only commenced teaching at Oxford in about 1225, at which time, Southern argues, he probably received his first benefice and care of souls; it is unlikely, Southern claims, that Grosseteste would have taught theology at Oxford while not a priest. If we adopt the view proposed by Callus and McEvoy, we must, in lieu of further evidence, admit the possibility that *De libero arbitrio* could be relatively early, possibly as early as the second decade of the thirteenth century, yet in line with most commentators, I find a *terminus a quo* of about 1225 more attractive and think that in addition to Southern's conjecture there is other circumstantial evidence in favor of such a dating.⁶²

We have noted that *De libero arbitrio* shares concerns and indeed rather strong textual parallels with Alexander of Hales's disputed questions, dated ca. 1220-36 by his editors, and William of Auvergne's *De universo*, dated ca. 1231-36 by Kramp, although it is probably representative of William's thought at an earlier period.⁶³ These concerns, which focus on God's knowledge of singulars, the eternal truths, and divine power, appear to be indicative of a period from about 1225 to 1235, which gives some reason to think that Grosseteste's *De libero arbitrio* is not likely to have been composed much earlier. Secondly, we may note the introduction of Aristotelian concerns over free choice at the end of the second recension (possibly they were also present in the part of the first recension we do not have). They seem to indicate a concern on Grosseteste's part at least to indicate that he was aware of the sort of questions people were beginning to ask about free choice, although he was not prepared to go into them. This again suggests that the second recension, at least, was probably composed in the 1220s rather than a decade earlier, and probably in the late 1220s. And it is unlikely that the first recension, of which the second is a careful revision, would be removed from the second by more than a few years. Furthermore, even in the first recension there are, as I have already

⁶² A date ca. 1225 is suggested by Thomson (*Writings*, 90-91) and Southern (*Robert Grosseteste*, 71, 113). McEvoy (*Philosophy*, 231) dates the *De veritate* to ca. 1225-30, suggesting that he would admit a similar dating for *De libero arbitrio*. Callus ("Oxford Career," 53-54) holds that the work derives from Grosseteste's later teaching period at Oxford, between 1214 and 1230. Raedts (*Richard Rufus*, 99) suggests a late dating of between 1229 and 1235, but this is rather implausible. Baur (*Werke*, 104*), while not providing a dating of *De libero arbitrio*, tentatively suggests an unlikely dating of about 1239 for the closely related *De veritate*.

⁶³ See his *Quaestiones disputatae*, 1:36*; and J. Kramp, "Des Wilhelm von Auvergne 'Magisterium Divinale,'" *Gregorianum* 1 (1920): 538-44.

noted, brief indications of a reading of Aristotle's *Physics*. Grosseteste makes brief references to eternal matter and the infinite divisibility of continua, and he structures the whole treatise according to the two questions *an sit?* and *quid sit?* which he takes to refer to the proper order of demonstration; the latter part of the second recension, in turn, is structured according to the four Aristotelian causes of free choice—its material, formal, efficient, and final causes. Whether we follow Southern, who thinks the earlier books of Grosseteste's commentary on the *Physics* date from a little before 1225, or McEvoy, who proposes a date ca. 1228/29, it seems reasonable to think that the first recension of *De libero arbitrio* dates from a period when Grosseteste was starting to study the *Physics*, say, about 1225. The evidence, then, such as it is, seems to point to a date ca. 1225 as a *terminus a quo* for the composition of the earlier recension of *De libero arbitrio*.

Given a dating of the two recensions between 1225 and 1230, it is likely that the theological opuscles mentioned above represent a development of Grosseteste's thought over this period. The short opuscle *De scientia Dei* would seem to represent an early treatment of the problems posed by God's knowledge. The first recension of *De libero arbitrio*, as I have noted, in its chapter 3 bears similarities to this opuscle but elsewhere seems to contain new ideas on modality and divine knowledge, and would most likely be a little later. The revised recension, deriving from a date closer to 1230, clearly indicates a deepening of interest and concern in theological issues and a wider range of reading; Grosseteste's *De veritate*, which shares a concern with the eternal truths and includes verbatim material on this topic also found in the later recension of *De libero arbitrio*, in all likelihood was also composed around this time. The treatises *De veritate propositionis* and *De ordine emanandi causatorum a Deo* no doubt also belong in this general period, although it is hard to arrive at a relative dating of them.

DESCRIPTION OF THE MANUSCRIPT

Exeter College 28 is, according to Thomson, the work of three hands of the fourteenth century. The third hand, in fols. 285-307, has copied Grosseteste's *De veritate*, *De libero arbitrio*, the *Quaestiones theologicae*, whose attribution to Grosseteste is controversial, and a fragment of Grosseteste's *De statu causarum*. The manuscript appears to have been put into its present binding in the seventeenth century, and there is no indication of folios having been removed.⁶⁴ *De libero arbitrio* is ascribed to Grosseteste.

⁶⁴ I am indebted in part to Mrs. Lorise Topliffe of Exeter College Library for this and other information contained in this section.

Spaces were left for the rubricator at the beginning of the various works by Grosseteste but the rubrication was not carried out. The text is in double columns and averages about 52 lines per column.

The text of *De libero arbitrio* appears to be incomplete. Fol. 305rb breaks off in mid-column, and fol. 305va-vb has been ruled for copying but is blank. As I have noted above, in 14.3 Grosseteste refers to material that is not included in the manuscript, suggesting that the first recension was somewhat longer than what we have before us. According to the *contenta* (second half of the fourteenth century) the later recension was also included in the codex at one point: "lincolniensis de libero arbitrio aliter quam prius." Baur notes that this recension was still extant in Exeter College 28 at the beginning of the sixteenth century, as Bale mentions among the texts by Grosseteste extant in Oxford at Exeter College an "aliud opus de arbitrio" which begins with the incipit of the second recension.⁶⁵

Thomson dates the text of the Exeter manuscript to about 1325. Baur gives a broader dating of the fourteenth century but claims that the marginal comments and corrections are from the fifteenth (or perhaps still the fourteenth) century. If my hypothesis about Bradwardine's use of the manuscript is correct, we can give a *terminus ad quem* for the text of 1344 at the very latest, as Bradwardine's *De causa Dei* had appeared by this time.

The manuscript contains numerous marginalia, many in the same hand as the main text and others in a different hand. The marginalia contain extensive corrections which have left us with a quite coherent text. There are also numerous marginal annotations indicating such things as the numbering of arguments, divisions of the text, precise references, and references to related works. They are not noted in the edition.

PRINCIPLES OF THE EDITION

The chief interest *De libero arbitrio* holds is for our understanding of early thirteenth-century views on such topics as future contingents, divine power, the nature of free choice, and related topics. Thus my aim has been to provide a text with the student of such issues uppermost in mind. Accordingly, in order to make the following text readily accessible to the general student of medieval thought I have employed a modernized orthography, imposed my own system of punctuation and paragraphing, and included a number of devices not found in the original.

⁶⁵ Baur, *Werke*, 110* n. 1.

As I have already noted, *E* overlaps with the later recension of *De libero arbitrio* in numerous places. I have indicated this overlap by enclosing such common material in braces ({. . .}). Evidently in such material the other manuscripts of the second recension may be of help in establishing the text, but given that the later text is a revision of the earlier it is not always clear when a difference in this shared material is due to an actual revision by Grosseteste or to the vagaries of the text tradition. Moreover, the relationships between the manuscripts seem to be rather complicated, for even though *E* represents a different recension, in the common material it also bears important similarities to the text in *M* and dissimilarities from the other manuscripts. What I have provided here is basically a transcription of *E*; all readings in the apparatus refer to this manuscript unless otherwise noted. I have only employed readings of the other manuscripts when there is good reason to think that *E* is deficient in some respect and, in general, when there is agreement between the other manuscripts on the reading adopted; such corrections are usually minor. In the complete edition of the second recension of *De libero arbitrio* which I am working on, the relationship of *E* to the other manuscripts will be made clear. I have also made some minor emendations which are noted in the apparatus. The apparatus employs the abbreviations suggested in A. Dondaine's paper, "Abréviations latines et signes recommandés pour l'apparat critique des éditions de textes médiévaux," *Bulletin de la Société Internationale pour l'Étude de la Philosophie Médiévale* 2 (1960): 146-49.

The text in *E* commences with the title I have given at the start of the edition, and it has chapter headings up to chapter 11 included in the margin by another hand. Baur's edition follows these, except in regard to parts of his chapter nine, which are included in chapter 8 in the manuscript. I have followed the manuscript's chapter divisions and then Baur's divisions of later chapters. The text in the manuscript is also divided internally and these divisions are reproduced to some extent in the paragraph divisions of my text, although I have freely deviated from the manuscript on this and on the matter of punctuation. I have also included a numbering of the paragraphs for ease of citation.

Grosseteste's quotations often diverge from the modern critical texts. I have usually left them as they stand and noted any major corrections in the apparatus. Titles of texts that have by now become standard have been italicized. Proper names have been capitalized. My interpolations for the sake of sense are in angle-brackets (< . . >). The foliation is marked in the text thus: /40ra/, meaning that here folio 40ra commences. I have also taken the course of italicizing accusative-infinitive constructions that are used substantively to designate *dicta* or enunciabiles. Since the standard view was

that such were extra-linguistic entities, the use of quotation marks, as is common editorial practice, seems tendentious and gives the probably wrong impression that in these cases Grosseteste is talking about linguistic expressions. When he clearly is referring to sentences, as opposed to the *dicta* they signify, I then use quotation marks.

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SIGLA

- DCD* *De causa Dei*, London edition of 1618
E Oxford, Exeter College 28
F Florence, Biblioteca Laurenziana Plut. 18 dext. 7
M Florence, Biblioteca Marucelliana C. 163
W Worcester, Cathedral Library F. 152

LIBELLUS DOMINI ROBERTI GROSSETESTE
LINCOLNIENSIS EPISCOPI DE LIBERO ARBITRIO

Cum per arbitrii libertatem dignior sit homo ceteris animantibus, ipsam qua dignior est libertatem indignum est ignorare. Idcirco eam pro modulo
5 nostro adiuvante eiusdem libertatis datore investigare proponimus, ut etiam per illustrationem gratiae eius illa inventa adminiculo agnitionis eius "in libertatem gloriae filiorum Dei"¹ liberius assurgamus.

Capitulum 1

[1.1] Quaerendum est igitur in primis de libero arbitrio an sit. Haec
10 est enim prima quaestio, ubi circa esse potest versari dubitatio. Esse autem liberi arbitrii dubitabile est, quia ad eius non-esse urgentes videntur rationes esse. Et, ut dicit Augustinus *super Ioannem*, homilia 53: "Quidam sic defendunt liberum arbitrium, ut auferant orationem. Quidam sic negant liberum arbitrium, ut audeant excusare peccatum."² {Et Anselmus dicit: "Multi
15 putant ad salutem vel ad damnationem nihil valere liberum arbitrium, sed solam necessitatem propter Dei praescientiam."³ Et iterum idem Anselmus: "Quoniam in sacra scriptura quaedam invenimus quae soli gratiae favere videntur, et quaedam /297ra/ quae solum liberum arbitrium statuere sine gratia putantur, fuerunt quidam superbi qui totam virtutum efficaciam in
20 sola arbitrii libertate consistere sunt arbitrati: et sunt nostro tempore multi qui liberum arbitrium penitus esse aliquid desperant."⁴}

[1.2] Cum itaque eius esse versari possit in dubio, proponantur primo quae eius esse auferre videntur de medio. Destruere itaque esse liberi arbitrii ista videntur: praescientia Dei et praedestinatio, veritas dicti de futuro,⁵

6 adminiculo *corr. E in marg. ex adiuvaculo ut vid.*

¹ Rom 8:22.

² Augustine, *In Iohannis evangelium tractatus* 53.8 (CCL 36:455.8.4-8).

³ Anselm, *De concordia* 1.6 (ed. Schmitt, 256.8-9).

⁴ Anselm, *De concordia* 3.1 (ed. Schmitt, 264.6-10).

⁵ Grosseteste often makes use of the interchangeable notions of the *dictum* or *enuntiabile* in the first nine chapters. The *dictum* is the significatum of a *propositio*—that is, of an utterance of an indicative sentence—and is picked out by the use of the accusative-infinitive construction (e.g., "Socratem currere") or a "quod" clause (e.g., "quod Socrates currit"). For a discussion of the theory and further references, see G. Nuchelmans, *Theories of the Proposition: Ancient and Medieval Conceptions of the Bearers of Truth and Falsity* (Amsterdam, 1973); and Norman Kretzmann, "Medieval Logicians on the Meaning of the *Propositio*," *The Journal of Philosophy* 67 (1970): 767-87. In this edition, accusative-infinitive constructions used substantively to refer to *dicta* have been italicized.

25 divinatio et prophetia, fatigue necessitas et gratia, coactio quoque per temptationem vel vim aliquam ad peccandum, et quod peccamus per ipsum arbitrium liberum, et forte alia plura videntur cogere libertatem arbitrii non esse quae nostrae nunc non occurrunt memoriae.

[1.3] Cum enim Deus sciat omnia, etiam futura contingentia, eiusque
30 scientia sit tam immutabilis quam infallibilis, cumque quicquid ipse scit necesse sit evenire, ne fallibile vel mutabile sit eius scire, evenient omnia ex necessitate, cum non possit quod scit non scire. Nihil igitur erit ex libero arbitrio creaturae, quia si ex eius libero arbitrio non ex necessitate.

[1.4] Et ut haec ratiocinatio enucleatiorem habeat consequentiam ordinetur sic secundum dispositionem syllogisticam: "Omne scitum a Deo ex
35 necessitate est vel fuit vel erit. Tua sessio, quae erit cras, est scitum a Deo. Ergo tua sessio est vel fuit vel erit." Atqui tam maior quam minor huius syllogismi est necessaria. Ergo et conclusio non solum necessario sequitur ex praemissis, sed et est in se necessaria, cum ex necessariis non sequatur
40 contingens.⁶ Maiorem autem huius syllogismi esse necessariam nulli dubium est. De minori quoque non debet dubitari, quia, si hanc sessionem scit Deus, non potest non scire eam, cum eius scientia sit infallibilis et immutabilis. Et si non potest non scire eam, de necessitate scit eam; et si de necessitate scit eam, ipsum scire eam est necessarium. Ergo, ut conclusum est, eam
45 esse vel fuisse vel fore est necessarium. Atqui falsum est eam esse vel fuisse. Ergo necesse est eam fore. Igitur tua sessio crastina non est contingens; ergo non ex libero tuo arbitrio; ergo nec aliquid consimile eadem ratione. Et ita perit liberum arbitrium.

Capitulum 2

50 [2.1] Non potest autem haec oppositio sic solvi, ut dicatur quod Deus non scit singularia et contingentia, sed solum scit universalia necessaria, sicut videntur sapere quaedam ethnicorum scripta.⁷ Hunc enim errorem aperte eliminat scriptura sacra. {In *Ecclesiastico* namque sic scribitur: "Omnia opera

33 quia corr. *E* in marg. ex quod
sciat 51 scit²] *supplevi*: sit *E*

36 est¹ add. *E* sup. lin.

44 scit corr. *E* ex

⁶ This line of argument is also presented in a truncated form in Grosseteste's opusculum *De scientia Dei* (ed. Baur, 145-47). The reader should note the crucial premise "ex necessariis non sequitur contingens," which is the focus of Grosseteste's discussion in chapters 3 and 7.

⁷ By *ethnici* Grosseteste has in mind not Arabic writers, as Baur suggested (*Die Philosophie des Robert Grosseteste*, Beiträge zur Geschichte der Philosophie des Mittelalters 18.4-6 [Münster i. W., 1917], 215), but writers such as Cicero, Boethius, Seneca, et al. Thus in his *De decem mandatis* 5.1 (ed. Dales and King, 58), Grosseteste refers to Seneca and Lucretius as *ethnici sapientes*.

illorum velut sol in conspectu Dei et oculi eius sine intermissione in viis
 55 illorum insipientes. Non sunt absconsa testamenta per iniquitatem illorum
 et omnes iniquitates eorum in conspectu Dei.”⁸} Cum igitur et viae hominum
 et iniquitates illorum sint eorundem opera, hominum autem opera sunt
 singularia quia non operantur homines universalia, haec autem inspiciat
 Deus, patet /297rb/ quod singularia in se, non solum in universali, novit
 60 Deus.

[2.2] Item, eodem libro: {“Oculi Domini multo plus lucidiores super
 solem, circumspicientes omnes vias hominum et profundum abyssi et
 hominum corda intuentes in absconsas partes. Domino enim antequam
 crearentur omnia sunt cognita; sic post perfectum respicit omnia.”⁹} In
 65 *Ezechiele* quoque scribitur: {“Haec dicit Dominus Deus: sic locuti estis domus
 Israel et cogitationes cordis vestri ego novi.”¹⁰} *Regum* quoque libro primo
 scribitur: {“Homo videt ea quae patent. Dominus autem intuetur cor.”¹¹}
 Et in *Proverbiis*: {“Omnes viae hominum patent oculis eius.”¹²} Et in *Ieremia*:
 {“Oculi mei super omnes vias eorum; non sunt absconditae a facie mea
 70 et non fuit occulta iniquitas eorum ab oculis meis.”¹³} Et iterum idem
Ieremias: {“Si occultabitur vir in absconditis et ego non videbo eum? dicit
 Dominus. Numquid non caelum et terram ego impleo?”¹⁴} Paulus quoque
 in secunda epistula *ad Corinthios* dicit: {“Deo autem manifesti sumus.”¹⁵
 Idem *ad Hebraeos*: “Omnia nuda et aperta oculis eius, ad quem nobis
 75 sermo.”¹⁶}

[2.3] Plurima quoque sunt alia testimonia in veteri et novo quibus luce
 clarius ostenditur Deum nil latere, sive sit universale sive singulare, et hoc
 sive contingens sive necessarium.

[2.4] Et quia praedicta sententia de Dei scientia ethnicorum est, qui non
 80 arguerentur per has vel huius scripturae sacrae auctoritates, cum illas non
 recipiant, de propriis auctoribus quos recipiunt aliquid contra illos profe-
 ramus.

81 auctoribus *corr. E in marg. ex auctoritatibus* *post aliquid add. E vocem illegibilem*
in marg.

⁸ Eccli 17:16-17.

⁹ Eccli 23:28-29. This passage is also quoted by Alexander of Hales in the *Quaestiones disputatae* “antequam esset frater,” q. 10 d. 3 (ed. Collegium S. Bonaventurae, 1:127.24-25).

¹⁰ Ez 11:5.

¹¹ 1 Sam 16:7.

¹² Prov 16:2. Also quoted in Alexander of Hales, *Quaestiones*, q. 10 (ed. Collegium S. Bonaventurae, 1:127.23).

¹³ Jer 16:17.

¹⁴ Jer 23:24.

¹⁵ 2 Cor 5:11.

¹⁶ Hebr 4:13.

[2.5] {Ait Seneca: "Sic vivendum est tamquam in conspectu vivamus; sic cogitandum tamquam aliquis in pectus intimum prospicere possit: et
 85 potest. Quid enim prodest ab homine aliquid esse secretum? Nihil Deo clausum est; interest animis nostris et cogitationibus mediis intervenit."¹⁷}
 Ex Ciceronis quoque libro *De divinatione* haberi potest {"quod si dii sunt et eorum providentia mundus administratur, eidem consulunt rebus humanis, non solum universis verum etiam singulis."¹⁸} Boethius similiter in libro
 90 quinto *Consolationis philosophiae* sic melliflue canit ore:

{Puro clarum lumine Phoebum
 melliflui canit oris Homerus;
 qui tamen intima viscera terrae
 non valet aut pelagi radorum
 95 infirma perrumpere luce.
 Haud sic magni conditor orbis:
 huic ex alto cuncta tuenti
 nulla terrae mole resistunt,
 non nox atris nubibus obstat;
 100 quae sint, quae fuerint veniantque
 uno mentis cernit in ictu;
 quem, quia respicit omnia solus,
 verum possis dicere solem.¹⁹}

84 in pectus *M*: impetus *E F*: vox illegibilis *W* 86 clausum *corr. E sup. lin. ex*
 clusum 88 providentia *F M W*: prudentia *E* post mundus *exp. E assumatur*
 90 quinto *add. E sup. lin.* 97 ex *M*: vox illegibilis *W*: enim *E* 100 sint *M ut vid.*
W: sunt *E F* 103 verum possis *M*: ord. inv. *E W*: possit verum *F*

¹⁷ Seneca, *Epistulae morales* 83.1 (ed. Reynolds, 1:278.14-18).

¹⁸ Cicero, *De divinatione* 1.51 (ed. Giomini, 67.17-21): "Quam si obtinemus, stabit illud, quod hunc locum continet, de quo agimus, esse deos, et eorum providentia mundum administrari, eosdemque consulere rebus humanis, nec solum universis, verum etiam singulis." Alexander of Hales in his *Quaestiones*, q. 10 (ed. Collegium S. Bonaventurae, 1:128.15-20) writes: "Item in libro *De divinatione*: 'Mundus providentia administratur.' Providentia autem non potest esse de rebus ignotis; ergo omnes res a Deo administratae in mundo, cognoscuntur ab eo. Cum ergo res, quoque modo sint, vel a natura vel a libero arbitrio, administrantur a Deo, restat quod ab eodem cognoscantur."

¹⁹ Boethius, *De consolatione philosophiae* 5.2 (CCL 94:91.2-14). Grosseteste clearly thinks of Boethius's *Consolatio* as a work that would have authority for pagan writers; it is less clear that he thinks of Boethius himself as a pagan. Some evidence that he may have is the fact that in Grosseteste's topical concordance of the Bible and Fathers, Boethius and clearly pagan authors are listed in the margin, not in the body of the text, which suggests that Grosseteste did view him as a pagan. However, we must note that he also lists in the margins the Christian poets Sedulius and Prudentius, and the segregation from the body of the text may simply indicate a distinction between the Fathers of the Church and other writers. On this, see S. Harrison Thomson, "Grosseteste's Topical Concordance of the Bible and the Fathers," *Speculum* 9 (1934): 139-44, at 142.

[2.6] Idem eodem: "Neque enim vel factum <aliud> ullum vel quaelibet
 105 existere poterit voluntas nisi quam nescia falli providentia divina praesen-
 serit."²⁰ {Idem in eodem: "Uno mentis intuitu tam necessarie quam non
 necessarie ventura dinoscit."²¹ Item, idem in eodem: "Atqui Deus ea futura
 quae ex arbitrii libertate proveniunt praesentia contuetur."²²

[2.7] Ex his patet Deum non solum universalia sed etiam singularia
 110 contingentia aeternaliter scire.}

[2.8] {Augustinus quoque *Super Genesim ad litteram* ait: "Cum addidit
 'quae faciunt Verbum eius,'²³ satis ostendit /297va/ earum quoque rerum
 ordinem divino subditum imperio latere nos, potius quam universitatis deesse
 naturae. Quid autem? Ore suo Salvator <cum> dicit unum passerem non
 115 cadere in terram sine voluntate Dei, et quod faenum agri post paululum
 mittendum in clibanum, ipse non nesciat, nonne confirmat <non solum>
 totam mundi istam partem rebus mortalibus et corruptibilibus deputatam,
 verum etiam vilissimas eiusque abiectissimas particulas divina providentia
 regi?"²⁴ Item, Augustinus libro tertio, *De trinitate*, ait: "Nihil fit visibiliter
 120 et sensibiliter quod non de interiore invisibili atque intelligibili aula summi
 imperatoris iubeatur aut permittatur secundum ineffabilem iustitiam prae-
 miorum atque poenarum, gratiarum et retributionum in ista totius creaturae
 amplissima quadam immensaue republica."²⁵ Idem quoque *De poenis
 purgatoriis* sic ait: "Si a vita bona numquam declinas, lingua tua tacet, vita
 125 tua clamat et aures Dei ad cor tuum. Quomodo enim aures nostrae ad
 voces nostras, sic aures Dei ad cogitationes nostras."²⁶}

[2.9] Quod autem iam patet et creditur indubitanter per diversas
 auctoritates, potest certum fieri intellectui et per rationes.

[2.10] Deum namque iustissime punire malos et praemiare bonos,
 130 certissimum est. Sed aequilibrare poenas et praemia cum meritis non posset,

106 Uno in marg. E 112 post rerum add. E temp (vox illegibilis) scilicet (vox
 illegibilis) ex parte illorum in marg.

²⁰ Boethius, *De consol. philos.* 5.3 (CCL 94:91.9-11).

²¹ Ibid. 5.6 (103.73-74).

²² Ibid. (103.101-3).

²³ Ps 148:8.

²⁴ Augustine, *De Genesi ad litteram* 5.21 (CSEL 28:165.22-166.6).

²⁵ Augustine, *De Trinitate* 3.4 (CCL 50:136.24-29); also quoted in a slightly shortened version with divergences from Grosseteste's text in Alexander of Hales, *Quaestiones*, q. 10 (ed. Collegium S. Bonaventurae, 1:128.1-5).

²⁶ No work by Augustine under the title *De poenis purgatoriis* is known. This passage is also quoted in Alexander of Hales, *Quaestiones*, q. 10 (ed. Collegium S. Bonaventurae, 1:128.6-9) as from the *De poenis purgatoriis*. Alexander's editors have identified it as a passage from Augustine's *Enarrationes in Psalmos* 148.2 (CCL 40:2166.11-14).

si ipsa merita ignoraret. Agnoscit igitur hominum merita, hoc est, hominum opera bona et mala, quae sunt singularia contingentia.²⁷

[2.11] Item, aut Deus singularia non fecit aut aliqua fecit quae in se ipsis ignoravit, si solum universalia in se novit; quorum utrumque incon-
135 veniens, quia "omnia in sapientia fecisti"²⁸ et "per verbum tuum omnia fecisti";²⁹ "omnia enim per ipsum facta sunt et sine ipso factum est nihil."³⁰

[2.12] Item, qui fecit sensus et imaginationem apprehensivos singularium, quomodo non apprehendit singularia ad quae apprehendenda fecit imaginationem et sensus? Quis potest competenter fabricare instrumentum ignorans
140 ad quid sit idem instrumentum? Sic opinantium stultitiam redarguit *Psalmista* dicens: {"Qui plantavit aurem, non audiet? aut qui finxit oculum non considerat?"³¹} Nec potest hic responderi quod faber ferrarius bene fabricat dolabrum, cum nesciat dolare, nec noverit illa quae dolantur, quia talis, nisi forte casu, non bene faceret dolabrum, nisi esset instructus a fabro
145 lignario. De Domino autem dicitur: {"Quis adiuvit spiritum Domini aut quis consiliarius eius fuit et ostendit illi?"³²} *Ad Romanos* quoque: {"Quis cognovit sensum Domini et cetera?"³³} Autem absurdum est valde hominem scire quae Deus nescit, "in quo sunt omnes thesauri sapientiae et scientiae."³⁴

[2.13] Item, si res humanae mortales et singulares contingentes non
150 reguntur casu sed reguntur et administrantur Dei providentia, Deus easdem noscit. Quomodo autem regeret et administraret sine errore res quas ignoraret?

[2.14] Item, si Deus diligit bonos et acceptat eorum bona opera, novit eos; non enim diligitur nisi quod agnoscitur. Deum autem, qui est summum
155 bonum, non diligere diligentes se, /297vb/ absurdissimum esset dicere.

[2.15] {Item, "Si Deus ignorat res humanas, nec advertet quid agimus," ut verbis utar Ciceronis, "quae potest esse pietas, quae sanctitas, quae religio,

141-42 aut . . . considerat] I v<a. (= lege verba?) a. q. f. o non , E 142 ferrarius
corr. E sup. lin. ex ferarius 145 post dicitur add. E Isaiae 40 in marg. 147 autem
corr. E in marg. ex ad haec ut vid.

²⁷ Cf. the following passage from Alexander of Hales, *Quaestiones*, q. 10 (ed. Collegium S. Bonaventurae, 1:128.10-14): "Item, suppositum est apud omnes quod Deus iustissime praemiatur bonos et iustissime punit malos. Sed hoc non posset, nisi meritum cognosceret; sed merita sunt opera bona et mala, quae singularia et contingentia; ergo cognoscit singularia et contingentia quae procedunt a libero arbitrio."

²⁸ Ps 103:24.

²⁹ Sap 9:1 (not to the letter).

³⁰ Jo 1:3.

³¹ Ps 93:9.

³² Is 40:13.

³³ Rom 11:34.

³⁴ Col 2:3.

et ad quid Deo cultus, honor et preces adhibentur? Nec enim peccata seu merita puniet vel remunerabit. Quod si est, perit pietas, sanctitas et religio.

160 Quibus sublatis, perturbatio vitae sequitur et magna confusio. Atque pietate adversus Deum sublata, fides etiam et societas generis humani et una excellentissima virtus, iustitia, tolleretur.”³⁵}

[2.16] Itaque, ut iam dictum est, si Deus est iustus iudex humanorum actuum, si creator rerum singularium, si gubernator et administrator mundi
165 et rerum humanarum, si dilector bonorum, si non incassum pietate colitur, noscit res humanas singulares contingentes, quae per liberum fiunt arbitrium.

[2.17] Non itaque poterit solvi supradicta oppositio, quae ex Dei praescientia videtur destruere liberum arbitrium, per illam sententiam quae dicit Deum nescire singulalia, cum sit evidentissime falsa.

170

Capitulum 3

[3.1] Numquid autem sic solvetur ut dicatur ex necessariis sequi contingens? Qui hoc dicit arti syllogisticae videtur contradicere, secundum quam artem nec ex veris falsum nec ex necessariis sequitur contingens.

[3.2] Necesse autem videtur unum istorum quattuor dicere: aut quod haec
175 consecutio non est necessaria: “Omne scitum a Deo habet aliquando esse; mea sessio cras futura, quae pro sermonis compendio dicatur A, est scitum a Deo; ergo A habet aliquando esse”; aut quod utrumque aut alterum praemissorum non est necessarium; aut quod conclusio est necessaria; aut quod ex necessariis sequitur contingens.

180 [3.3] Horum autem quattuor, quorum quodlibet videtur inconueniens, ultimum dicere minus forte est inconueniens, vel forte illud dicere videbitur alicui conueniens.

[3.4] Duplex autem est necessitas, sicut distinguit Anselmus in libro secundo *Cur Deus homo*, capitulo 17: una, quam vocat necessitatem praecedentem, quae causa est ut sit res et cogit rem esse; altera, quam vocat necessitatem sequentem, quae non est causa rei nec cogit rem esse. Et “haec,”
185 ut ipse dicit, “est illa necessitas quae, ubi tractat Aristoteles de propositionibus

162 tolleretur *E*: tollitur *F M W*
175 consecutio *corr. E* ex consectio

163 dictum est] *supplevi*: vox illegibilis *E*
179 post ex *del. E* eis ut *vid.*

³⁵ Cicero, *De natura deorum* (ed. Pease, 1:126-31). Grosseteste's text is a considerably abbreviated version of Cicero's text. An abbreviated version of this passage is also quoted in Alexander of Hales, *Quaestiones*, q. 10 (ed. Collegium S. Bonaventurae, 1:128.21-27), though identified as a passage from *De divinatione*. Alexander concludes from it: “Quod si est inconueniens, restat quod Deus cognoscit res humanas; ergo non tantum universalialia, sed singularia et contingentia quae sunt a libero arbitrio.”

singularibus et futuris, videtur utrumlibet destruere et omnia <esse> ex necessitate astruere."³⁶

- 190 [3.5] Hac sequenti et nihil efficiente necessitate necessarium est Deum
scire meam sessionem cras futuram et similia.³⁷ Non est enim in Deo
necessitas, cum omnia sint in ipso voluntaria, nec est aliud in ipso necessitas
quam suae voluntatis voluntarie perseverans inflexibilitas. Ex necessariis hac
sequenti necessitate nullum inconueniens; immo magis necessarium videtur
195 sequi contingens. Dum enim sedeo necesse est me sedere, et postquam sedi
necesse est me sedisse. Sed quam comparisonem habent haec dicta *me*
sedere et *me sedisse* ad meam sessionem dum sedeo et postquam sedi,
eandem comparisonem habet scientia Dei ad meam sessionem futuram
antequam sedeam. Ipse enim scit futura tamquam praesentia,³⁸ /298ra/ nec
200 aliter scit ea cum sunt futura et cum sunt praesentia vel praeterita. Ergo
omni simili modo quo necesse est Deum scire res cum sunt vel praeteritae
sunt, necesse est eum scire easdem antequam sint. Sed cum res sunt vel
praeteritae sunt, habet eius scientia necessitatem consequentem. Ergo et
eandem habet antequam res eveniant.³⁹ Et sicut, posito per impossibile quod
205 hoc dictum *me sedisse* eandem quam habet necessitatem postquam sedi,
haberet ante meam sessionem, illa necessitas non cogeret meam sessionem
esse, sed tamen ex illa necessitate sequeretur mea sessio contingens; sic ex
necessitate scientiae Dei sequitur futurum contingens.

- [3.6] Per hoc idem videbuntur posse solvi oppositiones quae ex veritate
210 dicti de futuro videntur destruere utrumlibet et liberum arbitrium. Si enim
sum sessurus cras, *me esse vel fuisse sessurum* sine principio fuit verum,
nec potest non fuisse verum, quia veritas quae sine principio huic dicto
infuit non potest non infuisse. Necesse est ergo fuisse et esse verum. Et
ex hoc necessario sequitur mea sessio adhuc contingens.
- 215 [3.7] Has duas necessitates, ex quarum altera non sequitur nisi neces-
sarium, ex reliqua vero, ut dictum est, videtur sequi contingens, puto
Boethium vocasse necessitatem simplicem et necessitatem conditionis,⁴⁰ licet

197 *post meam exp. E seditionem* 201-2 sunt . . . sunt] *supplevi collata lin 346:*
sint . . . sint E 204 *habet corr. E ex habent* 211 *sum DCD: si E* 213 *Et add.*
E sup. lin.

³⁶ Anselm, *Cur Deus homo* 2.17 (ed. Schmitt, 125.20-22).

³⁷ Duplex . . . similia: quoted in *DCD*, 721.

³⁸ Ex . . . praesentia: quoted in *DCD*, 721.

³⁹ Dum . . . eveniant: quoted in *DCD*, 848.

⁴⁰ Boethius, *De consol. philos.* 5.6 (CCL 94:103.91-101). This identification of the Anselmian and Boethian modal distinctions has some plausibility *prima facie*, but Irene Serene's detailed analysis of Anselm's modal theory has shown that the assimilation is incorrect; see "Anselm's Modal Conceptions" in *Reforging the Great Chain of Being*, ed. S. Knuuttila (Dordrecht, 1980), 117-62.

aliqui necessitatem conditionis intelligant non illam quae supra dicta est
 necessitas sequens, sed necessitatem consecutionis consequentis ad antecedens.
 220 Ut puta cum dicitur: "Si homo currit, movet pedes," hic est necessitas
 consecutionis consequentis ad antecedens, licet utrumque, scilicet tam
 consequens quam antecedens, sit contingens.⁴¹ Ex verbis autem ipsius Boethii
 interiori consideratis melius perpendi potest ipsum vocasse necessitatem
 conditionis quam supra necessitatem sequentem dicebamus. Ait namque:
 225 "Idem futurum cum ad divinam notionem refertur necessarium, cum vero
 in sui natura perpenditur liberum prorsus atque absolutum videri."⁴² Et post
 pauca: "Atqui Deus ea futura quae ex arbitrii libertate proveniunt, praesentia
 contuetur. Haec igitur ad intuitum relata divinum necessaria fiunt per
 conditionem divinae notionis, per se autem considerata absoluta naturae
 230 suae libertatem non deserunt."⁴³ Et iterum: "Haec, si ad divinam notitiam
 referantur necessaria; si per se considerentur necessitatis esse nexibus
 absoluta."⁴⁴

[3.8] Quid autem aliud sapiunt haec verba, nisi ea quae in sui natura
 sunt ad utrumlibet, contingentia, flexibilia et mutabilia, in Dei notitia esse
 235 invariabilia, non propter rerum invariabilitatem sed propter scientiae Dei
 immutabilitatem?⁴⁵ Et *Deum scire hoc esse* est inflexibile et immutabile ab
 ea quam habet veritate. Et ita, cum ex hoc invariabili *Deum scire hoc*
contingens sequatur esse huius contingens, ex necessario, secundum Boethii
 sententiam, sequi videtur contingens, non tamen ex necessario absoluto sive
 240 antecedente, quod cogit rem esse, sed ex necessario conditionis et sequente,
 /298rb/ quod permittit rei liberum esse.⁴⁶

[3.9] Eodem quoque modo solvitur quod obici potest contra esse liberi
 arbitrii ex praesentia prophetiae et divinationis—si tamen divinatio aliquid

225 notionem corr. *E* ex nocacionem 230 pro libertatem legend. libertate 236 est
 in marg. *E* 237 veritate] *supplevi*: veritatem *E* 238 huius *E*: hoc *DCD*
 239 absoluto *E*: absolute *DCD* post sive del. *E* attēdēte 240 antecedente] *supplevi*:
 vox illegibilis in marg. *E*

⁴¹ In this and the preceding sentence Grosseteste has argued that neither Anselm's sequent necessity nor Boethius's necessity of the condition is to be viewed as the necessity of the consecution of the consequent upon the antecedent. That is, he seems to be saying that they are not to be construed as a matter of a necessitated conditional of the form "It is necessary that (If A then B)," which is how many modern commentators would view them, but rather should be construed as a matter of a conditional with a necessitated consequent. For example, Grosseteste seems to be saying that when we say "If God knows A, A is necessary," what is meant is not "It is necessary that (If God knows A, then A)" but "(If God knows A, then it is necessary that A)."

⁴² Boethius, *De consol. philos.* 5.6 (CCL 94:103.89-91).

⁴³ Ibid. (103.101-5).

⁴⁴ Ibid. (104.118-120).

⁴⁵ Has . . . immutabilitatem: quoted in *DCD*, 721-22.

⁴⁶ Duplex . . . esse: quoted in *DCD*, 810-11.

sit. Totum enim cur haec videntur ad invicem repugnare, ut simul esse non
 245 possint, non est aliud nisi quod hinc est contingentia et ad utrumlibet
 possibilitas, illic vero necessitas, quae videtur non permittere contingentiam
 in aliquo consequenti ex ipsa. Res namque ipsa per prophetiam praescita
 est ad utrumlibet possibilis. Ipsa eiusdem rei praescientia, cum iam est, non
 potest de cetero non fuisse. Unde hanc rem scitam esse est necessarium,
 250 ex qua sequitur esse rei, quod tamen est contingens. Quam contingentiam,
 ut dictum est, non videtur permittere antecedentis necessitas, sed eam
 destruere.

[3.10] Huius itaque difficultatis solutio esse videtur cognoscere cuiusmodi
 necessitas antecedentis destruit et cuiusmodi permittit contingentiam con-
 255 sequentis.

[3.11] Sicut autem ex necessario sequi videtur contingens, sic e contrario
 ex contingenti sequi videtur impossibile, quia ex opposito contingentis
 sequentis ex necessario sequitur oppositum eiusdem necessarii, nec est
 oppositum contingentis sequentis ex necessario compossibile eidem necessario.
 260 Unde non omni necessario omne contingens videtur esse compossibile.

[3.12] Scio quod haec videntur dicta contra regulas dialecticae, quibus
 dicitur quod ex necessario non sequitur contingens, sed solum necessarium;
 et quod ex contingenti non sequitur impossibile, et quod cuilibet necessario
 est omne contingens compossibile. Sed forte interius perscrutanti patebit
 265 hoc verum de necessario antecedente et absoluto, non de necessario sequente
 et conditionis.⁴⁷ Hanc tamen solutionem non assero usquequam veram. Quia
 tamen alicui posset non absurda videri, eam interserere curavi.

[3.13] Quid autem de solutionis huius veritate mihi videatur, positis prius
 quorundam falsis solutionibus et earum improbationibus, pro modulo meo
 270 manifestare curabo.

Capitulum 4

[4.1] Volunt namque quidam sic solvere, ut dicant quod haec propositio
 non sit necessaria: "Deus scit A." Sit A aliquod unum singulare contingens.
 Quod sic arguunt: "Sit A *Antichristum fore*. Antichristus potest non fore.

251 permittere] *ut vid. E* 257 videtur *in marg. E* 262 *post solum del. E* im-
 possibile

⁴⁷ In 7.11 Grosseteste makes it clear that rejection of the logicians' rule is a way of saying necessary premises in *one* sense may yet entail a conclusion that is contingent in *another* sense; yet if we stick to modalities of the same family, the rule does not fail. But here he seems clearly to say that the rule "If A implies B and A is necessary, then B is necessary" fails when "necessary" does not shift in sense but means sequent necessity (or Boethius's necessity of the condition). He never follows up this suggestion.

275 Sed si non erit, Deus scit illum non fore, et si scit illum non fore, non
scit illum fore. Atqui possibile est Antichristum non fore. Ergo Deus potest
non scire Antichristum fore. Ergo non est necesse ipsum scire Antichristum
fore."

[4.2] Alios autem audiui etiam respondentes quod ideo non est haec
280 necessaria quia potest non scire A antequam sit A. Unde sicut est vel non
est A, sic fit sciens et non sciens A.

[4.3] Sed hac ratione dicere dictam propositionem non esse necessariam,
aperte impium est, quia hoc dicere est dicere Deum esse mutabilem secundum
scientiam. Primo ergo obviandum est auctoritatibus huic impietati, quibus
285 patebit ipsum immutabiliter et semper et aeternaliter scire omnia.⁴⁸

[4.4] Dicit namque Augustinus *Super Genesim ad litteram*, libro 5: {"Ipsi
Deo non audeo dicere haec alio modo innotuisse, cum ea fecisset, quam
eo quo ea noverat ut faceret, 'apud quem non est commutatio, nec
vicissitudinis obumbratio.'"}⁴⁹ Idem: "Simplici ac mirabili modo novit omnia
290 /298va/ stabiliter atque incommutabiliter."⁵⁰ Idem, *Confessiones*, 13: "Tu
autem, Domine, semper operaris et semper quiescis; nec vides ad tempus,
nec moveris ad tempus, nec quiescis ad tempus."⁵¹ Idem, *De trinitate*, 4:
"Verbum Dei per quod facta sunt omnia"⁵² unum est incommutabilis veritas;
ibi principaliter atque incommutabiliter omnia sunt simul, non solum quae
295 nunc sunt verum etiam quae fuerunt et quae futura sunt; ibi autem nec
fuerunt nec futura sunt sed tantummodo sunt; omnia vita sunt et omnia
unum <sunt> et—quod magis mirum—una est vita."⁵³

[4.5] Item, *De trinitate*, 15: "'Novit' inquit Verbum eius, 'quid nobis
necessarium sit priusquam petatis ab eo.'"⁵⁴ Nec ista ex aliquo tempore cogno-
300 vit ut nosset, sed futura omnia temporalia atque in eis etiam quid et quando
ab illo petaturi fueramus et quos et de quibus rebus <vel exauditurus vel
non> exauditurus esset sine initio ante praescivit. Non enim nescivit quae
fuerat creaturus. Nec aliter scivit ea creata quam creanda; non enim eius
sapientiae aliquid accessit ab eis, sed illis existentibus sicut oportebat <et
305 quando oportebat> illa mansit ut erat. Itaque et scriptum est <in libro
ecclesiastico>: 'Antequam crearentur omnia nota sunt illi; sic et postquam

279 etiam *add. E sup. lin.*
E F M W: abscessit legend.

280 potest non *corr. E* ex non potest

304 accessit

⁴⁸ quia potest . . . omnia: quoted in *DCD*, 817.

⁴⁹ Augustine, *De Gen.* 5.18 (CSEL 28:161.13-16).

⁵⁰ Ibid. (161.18-19).

⁵¹ Augustine, *Confessiones* 13.37 (CCL 27:272.37.3-5)

⁵² Cf. Jo 1:3.

⁵³ Augustine, *De Trinitate* 4 (CCL 50:162.39-45).

⁵⁴ Mt 6:8.

- consummata sunt.⁵⁵ 'Sic,' inquam, non aliter; et: 'Antequam crearentur et postquam consummata sunt sic ei nota sunt.'⁵⁶ Idem, *Super Genesim ad litteram*, 5: "Haec omnia, priusquam fierent, erant in notitia facientis."⁵⁷
- 310 Idem, *Super Ioannem*: "Respondebimus: Dominum praescium futurorum praedixisse infidelitatem Iudaeorum—praedixisse, non tamen fecisse. Non propterea enim quemquam Deus ad peccandum coegit quia futura hominum peccata iam novit."⁵⁸ Et paulo post: "Fecerunt ergo peccatum Iudaei, quod eos facere non compulit, cui peccatum non placet; sed facturos esse praedixit,
- 315 quem nihil latet. Et ideo si non malum sed bonum facere voluissent, non prohiberentur. Et hoc facturi praeviderentur ab eo qui novit quid quisque sit factururus et quid ei sit pro eius opere redditurus."⁵⁹ Idem: "Illud autem praedestinatum erat quod nondum erat, ut sic suo tempore fieret, quemadmodum ante omnia tempora praedestinatum erat ut fieret."⁶⁰
- 320 [4.6] Idem, *Confess.* 12: "Creatoris substantia nequaquam per tempora variatur, nec eius voluntas. Unde non eum modo hoc, modo velle illud, sed semel et simul et semper velle omnia quae vult; non iterum et iterum, neque nunc ista nunc illa, nec velle illud quod nolebat aut nolle quod volebat prius, quia voluntas talis mutabilis est et omne mutabile aeternum non est.
- 325 Deus autem aeternus est."⁶¹ Idem eodem: "Quod expectatio rerum fit contuitus, cum venerint; idemque contuitus fit memoria, cum praeterierint; omnis porro intentio quae sic variatur mutabilis est. Omne autem mutabile aeternum non est. Deus autem aeternus est."⁶²
- [4.7] Dionysius quoque *De divinis nominibus* ait: "Semet divina sapientia, cognoscens, cognoscit omnia, immaterialiter materialia, non partite partita, et multa universaliter, ipso uno omnia cognoscens et adducens. Etenim secundum unam causam, Deus scit omnia ut ex ipso existentia et in ipso autem subsistentia."⁶³ /298vb/

310 *post* Respondebimus *exp.* E super 323 aut . . . volebat *in marg.* E 329 nomi-
nibus *corr.* E ex notionibus Semet *corr.* E sup. lin. ex voce illegibili

⁵⁵ Eccli 23:29.

⁵⁶ Augustine, *De Trinitate* 15.22 (CCL 50A:494.22-495.37).

⁵⁷ Augustine, *De Gen.* 5.15 (CSEL 28:158.25).

⁵⁸ Augustine, *In Io. ev. tract.* 53.4 (CCL 36:453.4.16-19).

⁵⁹ Ibid. (453.4.24-454.4.29).

⁶⁰ Ibid. 105.8 (607.8.8-11).

⁶¹ Augustine, *Confessiones* 12.15 (CCL 27:224.15.2-225.15.9).

⁶² Ibid. (225.15.9-13).

⁶³ Dionysius Areopagita, *De divinis nominibus* 7.2 (ed. Chevallier, 398-400, translation E). Grosseteste quotes the Latin translation of Eriugena, composed ca. 867: "Semet igitur divina sapientia cognoscens, cognoscit omnia: immaterialiter materialia, et non-partite partita, et multa universaliter, ipso uno omnia et cognoscens et adducens. Etenim si secundum unam causam Deus omnibus existentibus esse tradit, secundum eandem unicam causam scivit

Capitulum 5

335 [5.1] Ex his auctoritatibus evidenter patet quod omnia scit Deus unico, indivisibili simpliciue conspectu, aeternaliter, semper, similiter, immutabiliter.⁶⁴ Quapropter quod scit non potest in posterum nescire.⁶⁵ Quod etiam plurimis modis probari potest.

[5.2]⁶⁶ Patet enim ex iam dictis quod quam comparisonem habent haec
340 dicta *me sedere* et *me sedisse* ad meam sessionem dum sedeo et postquam sedi, eandem comparisonem habet scientia Dei ad meam sessionem cras futuram antequam sedeam. Ipse enim scit futura tamquam praesentia, nec aliter scit ea cum sunt futura et cum sunt praesentia vel praeterita. Ergo omni eodem modo quo necesse est Deum scire res cum sunt vel cum
345 praeteritae sunt, necesse est eum scire easdem antequam sint. Sed cum res sunt vel praeteritae sunt, habet eius scientia necessitatem consequentem. Igitur et eandem necessitatem habet antequam res eveniant.⁶⁷

[5.3] Item, posito per impossibile quod cursus Sortis futurus cras esset nunc praesentialiter in visu meo corporali, omni eodem modo quo erit cras
350 illius cursus praesens in visu meo, sicut cras erit necessarium me videre vel vidisse Sortem currentem, sic modo esset necessarium antequam Sortes curreret. Sed multo magis sunt omnia futura praesentialiter in conspectu

336 que *add. E sup. lin.* 347 Igitur . . . eveniant *in marg. E*

omnia, ut ex ipso existentia et in ipso antesubstituta.” This passage is of some interest for it throws doubt on an argument Sir Richard Southern has recently used to dispute Callus’s attribution of the *Quaestiones theologicae* (found in the same manuscript as this recension of *De libero arbitrio*) to Grosseteste (see Sir Richard Southern, *Robert Grosseteste: The Growth of an English Mind in Medieval Europe* [Oxford, 1986], 29–30; for Callus, see “The *Summa Theologiae* of Robert Grosseteste” in *Studies in Medieval History Presented to Frederick Maurice Powicke*, ed. R. W. Hunt et al. [Oxford, 1948], 180–208). According to Southern, the quotation in these questions of a passage from Dionysius’s *De divinis nominibus* shows that the questions “cannot be an early work . . . [for] there are good reasons for thinking that Grosseteste was not familiar with this work till 1230 at the earliest” (30). But according to Southern, and I think he is right about this, the *Questiones theologicae* in form and content are quite unlike Grosseteste’s later works. However, *De libero arbitrio* most likely dates from the period 1225–30, and the presence in it of this passage from Dionysius weakens Southern’s argument. The matter is further complicated by the fact that although the passage from Dionysius quoted in the *Quaestiones* immediately precedes in Dionysius’s text the passage quoted in *De libero arbitrio*, unlike the latter passage the translation employed is that of John Saracen, not Eriugena. This use of a different translation, not the presence of a quotation from Dionysius as such, may give some ground for disputing the authenticity of the *Quaestiones*. We may note that this passage in Eriugena’s translation is also quoted in Alexander of Hales, *Quaestiones*, q. 10 d. 3 (ed. Collegium S. Bonaventurae, 1:131.17–19).

⁶⁴ omnia . . . immutabiliter: quoted in *DCD*, 848–49.

⁶⁵ Ex . . . nescire: quoted in *DCD*, 818.

⁶⁶ This paragraph is repeated almost verbatim in 3.5.

⁶⁷ omnia . . . eveniant: quoted in *DCD*, 833; Ergo . . . eveniant: quoted in *DCD*, 818.

Dei quam possit aliqua res prasens esse praesentialiter in conspectu meo. Multo ergo fortius Deus necessario videt et scit omnia futura.⁶⁸

355 [5.4] Item, Deus scit A. Aut ergo potest nescire A aut non potest. Si non potest nescire A, ergo necessario scit A. Si autem potest nescire A, ergo potest fieri de sciente A nesciens A. Ergo potest mutari et alterari, quod est impossibile.⁶⁹

[5.5] Item, ens quod non potest desinere esse nec fieri de ente non-ens, 360 est necessarium, quia illud est impossibile non esse et ita necesse esse. Si enim cum est potest non esse, potest desinere esse. Igitur si non potest desinere esse, non potest non esse sed est necessarium. Sed veritas huius propositionis: "Deus scit A" est, et similiter huius veritas: "Antichristus fuit futurus" et huius: "*Antichristum fore* est verum" et huius: "Antichristus erit." 365 Et nulla istarum veritatum potest desinere esse. Aut si potest desinere, ponatur quod desinat. Inde sic haec veritas desinit. Ergo non est vel continue non erit post hoc. Sed si non est vel non erit, ab aeterno non fuit. Et si ab aeterno non fuit, non desinit. Ergo si desinit, non desinit. Ergo ipsum desinere est impossibile.

370 [5.6] Item, si haec veritas desinit, in eodem <i.e. dicto> incipit falsitas. Et si falsitas est in hoc, ab aeterno fuit falsum. Et si hoc, non incipit eius falsitas. Ergo, si incipit, non incipit. Ergo ipsam incipere est impossibile. Ergo eius oppositam, veritatem, necessarium est esse. Ergo haec est necessaria: "Antichristus erit." Similiter cum dico "Antichristus est futurus," eius 375 futuritio non potest desinere esse si est, quia, posito quod desinit (aliter, videlicet, quam per esse Antichristi), ab aeterno non fuit et ita non desinit, sicut si albedo, quae in Antichristo est, non potest desinere aliquo modo, Antichristus necessario est albus et illum esse album est necessarium. Ergo similiter *Antichristum esse futurum* est necessarium et Antichristus necessario 380 est futurus.⁷⁰

[5.7] Item, secundum Anselmum praeterita non possunt non esse praeterita.⁷¹ Itaque, sicut opponit Aristoteles,⁷² dicat aliquis ante millesimum annum Antichristum fore, /299ra/ et sit Antichristus futurus. Iam praeterita est eius dictio qua verum dixit. Ergo non potest non dixisse verum. Ergo

355 Aut ergo *corr. E* ex ergo aut 363 et *add. E sup. lin.* 365 post Aut *add. E* potest 371 falsum] *supplevi: falsa E* 374 erit . . . Antichristus *in marg. E*
377 sicut *corr. E* ex sed

⁶⁸ omnia [5.1] . . . futura: quoted in *DCD*, 811.

⁶⁹ Item . . . impossibile: quoted in *DCD*, 817.

⁷⁰ For Grosseteste's discussion of this argument, see 7.9.

⁷¹ Anselm, *De concordia* 1.2 (ed. Schmitt, 249).

⁷² Aristotle, *De interpretatione* 9 (18b33-36; ed. Minio-Paluello, 15.16-18).

385 ipsum dixisse hoc verum est necessarium. Sed si dixit hoc verum "Antichristus
erit," ergo, cum antecedens sit necessarium, et consequens. Et si dicat aliquis:
"Necessarium est ipsum dixisse hoc, sed non hoc verum quia potest
numquam fuisse verum," contra: cum dixerit hoc verum, si fiat quod non
dixerit hoc verum, cum necessarium sit ipsum hoc dixisse, potest fieri de
390 vero non verum, quod supra improbatum est.

[5.8] Item, Isaias scivit captivitatem Iudaeorum antequam eveniret.
Simus in tempore medio. Isaias scivit hanc captivitatem. Ergo non potest
non scivisse hanc captivitatem. Ergo necessarium est scivisse. Sed si scivit,
erit. Ergo necessarium est fore, quia ex necessario non sequitur contingens.
395 Quod si dicat aliquis hanc captivitatem posse non fore et ita possibile esse
Isaiam eam numquam praescivisse, tamen, quia vidit eam in spiritu, non
potest amodo non vidisse eam. Et ita eius visio, quae fuit scientia, potest
non fuisse scientia.

[5.9] Occurritur ei sicut prius, quia *hanc visionem esse scientiam* est res
400 praeterita et ita non potest non fuisse. Forte autem aliquis dicet ex necessario
sequi contingens, sicut supra tactum est. Sed hoc esse non potest, quia si
antecedens non potest desinere esse verum et consequens potest, desinat
igitur! Stabunt itaque simul et veritas antecedentis, quia est necessaria, et
falsitas consequentis, quod esse non potest.

405

Capitulum 6

[6.1] Videtur tamen necessario ex necessario sequi contingens, quia
contingens est hanc herbam cras crescere, cuius tamen est aeterna ratio in
mente divina. Et ex aeterna ratione incommutabili et necessaria sequitur
esse huius herbae, quod est contingens.

410 [6.2] {Quod autem rationes rerum sint incommutabiles, dicit Augustinus,
Confess. 1: "Apud te Deus omnium rerum instabilium stant causae, et rerum
omnium mutabilium immutabiles manent origines, et omnium irrationalium
et temporalium sempiternae, stabiles, immutabiles, vivant rationes."⁷³ Ergo
cum rationes sint sempiternae, stabiles, immutabiles, vivantque non vita
415 mortali sed immortalī, ipsae rationes sunt necessariae, ex quibus necessario
sequuntur res temporales, mutabiles, corruptibiles, contingentes.

[6.3] Item, dicit Boethius: "Hoc ad divinam scientiam relatum est

391 Iudaeorum] *supplevi collatis F M W (ed. Baur, p. 166.7): vox illegibilis E* 397 *post*
non del. E scivisse post ita exp. E eam 412 irrationalium *corr. E ex irrationabilium*
413 *post vivant exp. E quae non vita mortali sed immortalī* 417 scientiam *corr. E ex*
scinam ut vid. relatum in marg. E

⁷³ Augustine, *Confessiones* 1.6 (CCL 27:5.37-40).

necessarium, in se autem contingens.”⁷⁴ Sed ex hoc in divina scientia sequitur hoc in se. Ergo ex necessario contingens.

- 420 [6.4] Item, Augustinus *Super Genesim ad litteram*: “Haec omnia priusquam erant, erant in notitia facientis, et utique ibi meliora, ubi veriora, ubi aeterna et incommutabilia.”⁷⁵ Item, ait Seneca: “Plato ‘ideas’ vocat, ex quibus omnia, quaecumque videmus fiunt et ad quas cuncta formantur. Hae immortales, immutabiles, invariabiles sunt. Quid sit idea? Audi. Idea eorum
425 quae natura fiunt est exemplar aeternum. Talia exemplaria infinita habet rerum natura, hominum, piscium, arborum, ad quae quodcumque fieri <ab illa> debet exprimitur.”⁷⁶ “Haec exemplaria rerum omnium Deus intra se habet numerosque universorum quae agenda sunt et modos mente complexus est. Plenus his figuris est, quas Plato ‘ideas’ /299rb/ vocat, immortales,
430 innumerabiles, infatigabiles. Itaque homines quidem pereunt, ipsa autem humanitas, ad quam homo effingitur, permanet, et hominibus laborantibus et intereuntibus, illa nihil patitur.”⁷⁷

[6.5] Ex his patenter habetur exemplaria esse necessaria,⁷⁸ ex quibus tamen sequitur exemplatum esse contingens.

- 435 [6.6] Anselmus: “Nulla ratione negari videtur posse aliquid esse in tempore mutabile quod in aeternitate est immutabile. Quippe non magis opposita sunt mutabile in tempore et immutabile in aeternitate, quam non esse in aliquo tempore et esse semper in aeternitate, et fuisse et futurum esse secundum tempus atque non fuisse et non futurum esse in aeternitate.”⁷⁹
440 Cum itaque ex esse rei in aeternitate sequatur esse rei in tempore, ex immutabili sequitur mutabile et ex necessario contingens.}

Capitulum 7

- [7.1] In iam dictis videntur angustiae esse undique, neque facile patet qua exeundum sit ab his angustiis. Videtur enim omne verum futurum esse
445 necessarium et e contra futura corruptibilia esse contingentia.

422 Seneca in *marg. E* 424 invariables *EFW*: inviolabiles *legend.* 426 post fieri *exp. E* det 427 debet in *marg. E* 429 Plenus *corr. E* in *marg. ex* plenis
430 innumerabiles *M* ut *vid. E* et *W*: im— *lac. F*: immutabiles *legend.* 445 post et *del. E* necessarium quia si necessarium

⁷⁴ Boethius, *De consol. philos.* 5.6 (CCL 94:103.89-91): “Idem futurum cum ad divinam notionem refertur necessarium, cum vero in sua natura perpenditur liberum prorsus atque absolutum videri.”

⁷⁵ Augustine, *De Gen.* 5.15 (CSEL 28:158.25-26).

⁷⁶ Seneca, *Epistulae morales* 58.18-19 (ed. Reynolds, 1:157.12-23).

⁷⁷ Ibid. 65.7 (1:177.4-10).

⁷⁸ Ex . . . necessaria: quoted in *DCD*, 818.

⁷⁹ Anselm, *De concordia* 1.5 (ed. Schmitt, 255.10-14).

[7.2] Item, videtur ex necessario sequi contingens et e contra hoc non posse pati artem syllogisticam. Neque hac evadi potest ut idem secundum idem dicatur contingens et necessarium, quia si necessarium, non potest non esse; si contingens, potest non esse. Contradictio autem simul stare non
 450 potest. An forte sit distinguendum ut dicatur aliquid necessarium eo quod non est ei posse, neque ad non-esse, neque ad non-fuisse, neque ad non-fore, qualiter necessarium est *duo et tria esse quinque*, quia non est posse ad hoc, ut in praesenti vel in futuro vel in praeterito, vel unquam, sive ab initio, sive sine initio, non fuerit verum. Unde illud simpliciter est
 455 necessarium ad cuius aliquo modo non-esse nullo modo est posse.

[7.3] Est alio modo necessarium, scilicet quod cum est, non est posse ad ipsum habere non-esse post esse quod habet. Sic vera de praeterito patenter sunt necessaria. Et hoc necessarium sequitur ad necessarium prius dictum.

460 [7.4] Unde necessarium simpliciter⁸⁰ dividitur in necessarium supra dictum et in necessarium quod cum non-posse ad habere non-esse post esse habet posse ad sine initio numquam esse vel fuisse vel fore. Talis est veritas dictorum de futuro, quia eorum veritas, cum est, non potest habere non-esse post esse, ut supra ostensum est.⁸¹ Est tamen posse ad hoc, ut sine

447 ut] *supplevi*: aut *E* 458 necessaria *corr. E sup. lin. ex voce illegibili* *post*
 necessarium¹ *exp. E* est

⁸⁰ Grosseteste's division of the *necessarium simpliciter* into two subclasses is reminiscent of a similar division found in some of the logic texts edited by De Rijk in *Logica modernorum*. In the *Logica "cum sit nostra"* (ed. De Rijk, 429.1-6), for example, we find a division of necessity into necessity *simpliciter* and *relative*; the former is then subdivided into *per se* and *per accidens* necessity. A similar structure (though with somewhat differing content) is found in the *Logica "ut dicit"* (ed. De Rijk, 390.21-33). De Rijk has dated these works as of the twelfth century, though on somewhat dubious grounds. Grosseteste seems to follow this pattern of a distinction between two kinds of absolute necessity and a relative necessity (he employs a notion of relative necessity in chapter 9); however, the content of the modal notions he employs is rather different.

⁸¹ See 5.6-5.7. Grosseteste's claim that truths *de futuro* cannot change truth-value is rather puzzling, as there seems to be no reason to think that this is true of such statements as "There will be a sea battle tomorrow" or, to use Grosseteste's own example, "You will sit tomorrow." What he seems to have in mind is rather that such truths cannot become false prior to the occurrence of the events they predict. Thus in 5.6 and 7.8 he qualifies his claim about the immutability of the truth of future truths by allowing that the truth of "Antichrist will exist" may cease with the existence of Antichrist. His viewpoint thus seems to be one that underlay Peter Aureoli's rejection of the principle of bivalence in his discussion of future contingents about seventy five or so years later. Peter states the problem of immutable truth-value thus: "[S]i haec propositio vera est 'Antichristus erit,' immutabiliter et inevitabiliter est vera. Si enim mutari potest, ne sit vera, aut mutabitur in illo instanti quo vera est, aut in instanti praecedenti, aut in instanti subsequenti usque ad instans quo res fiet aut in instanti quo res non fiet. Sed manifestum est quod non potest mutari in illo instanti quo est vera, quia pro eodem instanti esset vera et non vera, quod impossibile est. Nec

465 initio et ab aeterno fuerint vera, et posse ad hoc, ut ab aeterno et sine initio fuerint falsa et posse ad falsitatem non initiabilem et ad veritatem non initiabilem in his. Sed cum habet veritatem et falsitatem, non est posse ad oppositum eius quod habet post id quod habet.

[7.5] Similiter cum Deus sciat aliquid, non est posse ad hoc, ut postquam
470 scierit illud non sciat illud. Est tamen aeternum posse, ut sine initio non scierit illud quod scit. {Unde Magister in *Sententiis*:⁸² Deus potuit nulla creasse et ita nulla creata praescivisse vel scivisse. Habet ergo potentiam ut numquam creasset et numquam scivisset multa quae creavit et scivit.

[7.6] Ex hoc utique posse quod est ad utrumque oppositorum, scilicet
475 verum et falsum sine initio et scisse et non scisse sine initio, sequitur rerum contingentia.⁸³ Et e contrario, ex contingentia rerum sequitur /299va/ hoc posse sic ad utrumque sine initio.

[7.7] Habent igitur talia vera de futuro necessitatem ex parte aliqua, et similiter tales: "Deus scit A," et "Isaias scivit hoc quod praedixit, <id
480 est> hoc verum," quia veritas talium non potest desinere nec possunt alterari a vero in falsum. Habent quoque ex parte alia contingentiam, quia posse ad verum et falsum sine initio, ex quo posse sequitur rerum contingentia. Nec tamen sunt sic pure contingentia, sicut est haec contingens "Sortes est albus," quia potest in futuro desinere esse albus. Hic enim est omni modo
485 contingentia, sicut in hoc: *Duo et tria esse quinque* omni modo necessitas.

465-66 et sine . . . non in marg. E 472 vel scivisse om. DCD 473 et¹ add. E
sup. lin. post scivit exp. E et 474 Ex in marg. E 475 verum . . . et³ om. DCD
479 tales] supplevi: talia E F M: vox illegibilis W 484 quia F M W: qui E 485 hoc]
supplevi: hac E F M W

in instanti praecedenti: tum quia, si in instanti dato est vera, et in omni praecedenti fuit vera, quia si hodie verum est quod Sortes erit cras, et heri verum fuit quod Sortes esset cras, at ita si tunc poterat mutari in falsitatem, mutaretur in illo eodem tunc quo esset falsa et per consequentes simul esset vera et non vera. . . . Nec potest dici quod mutari possit in aliquo instanti subsequenti in tempore signabili inter instans propositionis et instans quo res fiet, quia si in aliquo instanti, ut pote cras, falsa sit haec propositio 'Sortes erit,' impossibile est quod fuit heri vera et hodie falsa, hoc erit propter aliquam mutationem factam in re. Nulla autem mutatio facta est quia nondum res est. . . . Nec potest dici quod in illo instanti in quo res fiet vel non fiet mutabitur illa veritas: tum quia veritas illa transit in praeteritum . . . quod autem transit in praeteritum immutabile est . . . ergo cum non inveniatur instans in quo possit mutari propositio de futuro a veritate in falsitatem, necessario immutabiliter vera, si aliquo modo ponatur vera" (Peter Aureoli, *Commentarium in primum sententiarum* [1596-1605], d. 38, pp. 883-84; also quoted with some minor differences in Calvin Normore, "Future Contingents" in *The Cambridge History of Later Medieval Philosophy*, ed. N. Kretzmann et al. [Cambridge, 1982], 370).

⁸² It is not clear exactly to which passage Grosseteste is referring. He is not giving a literal quotation; but cf. Peter Lombard, 1 *Sent.* 35.7.1 (ed. Collegium S. Bonaventurae, 1:256.1-4).

⁸³ Est tamen . . . contingentia: quoted in DCD, 841.

- [7.8] In his vero de futuro et qualia dicta sunt de praesenti, ut "Deus scit A," et de praeterito, ut "Isaias scivit et praedixit hoc verum," est quaedam contingentia cuidam necessitati admixta sequiturque ex parte talis contingentiae rerum adhuc futurarum contingentia et per viam syllogisticam ex
 490 parte necessitatis sequitur talis necessitas conclusionis qualis est in antecedenti. Sicut enim veritas huius: "Deus scit A" vel "Antichristus fuit futurus" vel "Isaias praedixit hoc verum" non potest desinere, sic veritas vel futuritio huius: "Antichristus est futurus" vel "Antichristus erit" non potest desinere, nisi per exhibitum esse Antichristi.
- 495 [7.9] Concedendum igitur quod haec est necessaria: "Antichristus est futurus" ex hoc intellectu, quod eius veritas et eius futuritio non potest desinere. Nec tamen Antichristus necessario est futurus vel necessario erit, id est, habebit esse ex necessitate in futuro. Verumtamen haec est duplex: "Antichristus necessario est futurus," quia potest poni necessitas, hoc est
 500 non-finibiltas, super futuritionem attributam Antichristo, et sic est vera et sequitur syllogistice ex consimiliter necessariis; vel potest poni necessitas super esse Antichristi, quod est futurum, ut is sit sensus: "Antichristus habebit in futuro esse ex necessitate," et sic est falsa. Nec sequitur hoc ex aliquibus, vel veris vel necessariis, habebit enim in futuro esse contingens.⁸⁴
- 505 [7.10] Similiter est haec duplex: "Antichristus contingenter est futurus" vel "contingenter erit," quia potest poni super ipsam futuritionem contingentia et possibilitas finitionis, et sic est falsa, vel super ipsum esse Antichristi, quod futurum est, et sic est vera.⁸⁵
- [7.11] Per viam igitur syllogisticam ex necessariis sequitur necessarium

487 *post ut exp. E* Deus Isaias *in marg. E* 488 sequiturque *F M W*: sequitur
 quod *E* 488-89 *post* contingentiae *exp. E* verum 489 rerum *in marg. E* 490 qualis
F M W: qualiter *E* 498 esse *add. E sup. lin.* 503 ex¹ *F M W*: in *E* 507 *post*
 possibilitas *exp. E* futuritionis finitionis *in marg. E*

⁸⁴ Grosseteste's discussion here is one of the earliest we know of of a common sophism concerning Antichrist. A possibly earlier version is found in the *Dialectica Monacensis* (ed. De Rijk) and after Grosseteste it may be found in such works as William of Sherwood's *Introductiones ad logicam* (ed. Lohr), and *Syncategoremata* (ed. O'Donnell), the *Abstractiones* of the *magister abstractionum* (perhaps by Richard Rufus, though Raedts, *Richard Rufus*, 112-13, has recently disputed this), the *Abstractiones* of Herveus Brito, Nicholas of Paris's *De Syncategorematis* (ed. Braakhuis), and William of Heytesbury's *Sophismata* (extracts in Ria van der Lecq, "William of Heytesbury on 'Necessity'" in *The Rise of British Logic*, ed. P. O. Lewry, *Papers in Mediaeval Studies* 7 [Toronto, 1985], 249-63). For references to the *abstractiones* literature, see Alain de Libera's paper, "La littérature des *abstractiones* et la tradition logique d'Oxford" in *The Rise of British Logic*, 63-114. Often the sophism was presented as the question whether the *soul* of Antichrist is necessarily future. (In the second recension's chapter 6 Grosseteste does at one point note that Antichrist's soul is the sort of contingent that "will not have non-being after being" [Baur, *Werke*, 169.15].)

⁸⁵ 7.9-7.10 are a reply to the argument in 5.6.

510 eo modo necessitatis quem modum necessitatis habent antecedentia, quia conclusio, sicut antecedentia, habet veritatem quae non potest in futuro desinere et a qua non potest alterari. Tamen ipsa res conclusionis nullam propter hoc habet necessitatem ad essendum; immo propter posse antecedentium ad utrumque, scilicet ad verum et falsum sine initio, habet ipsa
 515 res conclusionis necessario contingentiam ad utrumque, scilicet ad essendum et non essendum, et verum est quod ex necessario sequitur res contingens. Numquam tamen ex propositionibus necessariis sequitur conclusio quin ipsa habeat correspondentem necessitatem cum praemissis, quemadmodum supra dictum est ex *Deum scire Antichristum fore* vel ex hoc *Antichristum fuisse*
 520 *futurum*, vel *Isaiam hoc praedixisse vel praescivisse*, sequitur *Antichristum fore*, quod habet cum praemissis consimilem necessitatem, quia veritatem quae non potest desinere. Quod tamen Antichristus habet posse ad esse et ad non-esse in futuro, non ideo quia poterunt haec praemissa /299vb/ desinere esse vera, sed, ut dictum est, quia est posse ad hoc, ut semper
 525 sine initio non fuissent vera.

[7.12] Totum igitur quod in his generat caliginem est quod contingentia rerum in se ipsis videtur repugnare necessitati earundem in mente et scientia divina; similiter necessitati illi quae est immutabilitas praesentialis veritatis in his de praeterito et de futuro; et quod non distinguitur quomodo in eadem
 530 propositione ex parte aliqua est necessitas propter hoc, quod non finibilis est eius veritas, et ex parte alia contingentia, quia quae est vera potuit sine initio non fuisse vera, ex qua potentia sequitur rerum contingentia; et quia non distinguitur multiplicitas talium: "Antichristus necessario est futurus" et "contingenter est futurus."

535 [7.13] Notandum quoque quod haec est concedenda: "Deus potest nescire A" et similiter tales: "*Antichristum fuisse futurum* potest esse falsum" et "*Antichristum fore* potest esse falsum et potest in futuro esse falsum" et similiter "Deus potest in futuro nescire A," quia si sine initio et ab aeterno nescivit A, in futuro nesciet A. Sed est posse ad hoc, ut sine initio et ab
 540 aeterno nescierit A. Ergo est posse ad hoc, ut nesciat A in futuro.

[7.14] Similiter si *Antichristum fuisse futurum* sine initio fuit falsum, erit in futuro falsum. Ergo cum sit posse ad primum, est posse ad secundum, et sic de similibus.

[7.15] Verumtamen duplex est haec: "*Antichristum fuisse futurum* potest
 545 esse falsum in futuro." Vel potest esse falsum quia potest notari quod sit possibilitas ad falsitatem initiabilem post veritatem quam habet, et sic est

514 utrumque *FMW*: utramque *E* ad² *FMW*: ante *E* 518 supra *FMW*:
 super *E* 524 vera *FMW*: om. *E* 532 et *EMW*: vel *F* 539 nesciet corr *E*
 sup. lin. ex. nescit 544 duplex in marg. *E* 546 est *FMW*: om. *E*

sermo impossibilis, sicut cum dicitur "Sortes est albus et potest esse niger" intelligitur quod sit possibilitas ad nigredinem initiabilem post albedinem quae praesentialiter inest Sorti;⁸⁶ vel potest significari quod sit possibilitas
 550 ad falsitatem simpliciter in futuro non initiabilem post veritatem, sed continuatam cum falsitate quae sine initio potuit fuisse. Et similiter est haec duplex: "Deus, sciens A, potest nescire A," quia potest intelligi quod habet posse ad nescire post scire, et sic est falsa, vel quod habet posse nescire simpliciter in futuro—nescire, dico, continuatum cum nescientia aeterna sine
 555 initio—et secundum hunc modum sequitur "Antichristus potest non fore." Ergo Deus, sciens Antichristum fore, potest nescire in futuro ipsum fore, et e contrario.

[7.16] Unde manifestum est quod simul stant *Deum scire A* esse necessarium, id est, verum veritate quae non potest desinere esse, et *Deum*
 560 *scire A* posse esse falsum. Nec tamen potest fieri falsum sive alterari a veritate in falsitatem. Similiter Deus necessario scit A, quia non potest desinere scire A, et potest tamen nescire A, nec tamen potest fieri de sciente A nesciens A nec alterari a sciente in non scientem.

[7.17] Licet autem modo locuti simus de scientia Dei per modum
 565 protensionis temporalis, notissimum est tamen nihil in aeternitate esse secundum talem modum protensionis temporalis. Sed non est facile de simplici statu aeternitatis aliter loqui intellectui infirmo et adhuc versanti in phantasmatis temporalium.⁸⁷ Sed adhuc de solutione praedicta ulterius necesse est inquirere.

570

Capitulum 8

[8.1] Suppo- /300ra/ suimus enim, ut patet in praecedentibus, esse posse ad Deum numquam scivisse aliqua quae scit, quia est posse ad non fore quaedam quae erunt, et si non erunt, numquam scivit illa. Ergo est posse ad numquam scivisse illa. Similiter supposuimus esse posse ad *Antichristum*
 575 *fuisse futurum* et ad *Antichristum fore* et ad similia numquam fuisse vera et semper fuisse falsa.⁸⁸

560 falsum² in marg. E 564 post autem add. E vocem illegibilem et forte del. modo in marg. E 566 de corr. E sup. lin. ex d

⁸⁶ Cf. *Summa theologiae* ascribed to Alexander of Hales, pt. 1, inq. 1, tract. 5, sect. 2, q. 1, chap. 5 (ed. Collegium S. Bonaventurae, 1:271): "Si albedine existente in subiecto aliquo, non sit possibilitas in eodem subiecto ad formam oppositam, ita scilicet ut possit albedini succedere nigredo, numquam haec erit vera 'album potest esse nigrum.'"

⁸⁷ Licet . . . temporalium: quoted in *DCD*, 833.

⁸⁸ In this paragraph Grosseteste makes it clear that his account of the compatibility

[8.2] Sed haec suppositio videtur inconueniens, quia quidlibet dum est, necesse est esse, et non est posse ut non sit tunc quando est.⁸⁹ Forte tamen est aliquid quod habet posse ut non sit post, sed tunc non habet posse
 580 ut non sit tunc; sicut *Sortem esse album*, si est verum in A instanti, non habet posse in A ut <sit fals>um in A. Si enim <quod est> verum in A, possit esse falsum in A,⁹⁰ si reducatur haec possibilitas ad actum, erit in eodem indivisibili simul idem verum et falsum, quod est impossibile. Si vero haec possibilitas est impossibilis ad actum suum deduci, cassa est.⁹¹ Sed
 585 Deus nullam possibilitatem cassam facit. Praeterea, nullo modo dicitur possibilitas, si impossibilis est ad actum deduci.

[8.3] {Nec est instantia de possibilitate divisionis magnitudinis in infinitum, quasi illa non possit deduci ad actum, quia semper potest esse illa possibilitas in deductione ad suum actum et numquam tamen perfecte
 590 deducitur, quia est ad infinitatem in deductione.⁹²}

[8.4] Si itaque quod est verum in A instanti, non potest in A esse falsum in eodem A, aeternitas autem, cum sit in termino simplicitatis omni instanti simplicior,⁹³ non potest verum in aeternitate esse falsum in eadem aeternitate. Atqui *Deum scire A* in aeternitate verum est.⁹⁴ Non enim secundum
 595 veritatem est ibi scivisse vel scitutum esse, sed solum scire, ubi quod dicitur

578 posse *E*: possibile *DCD* 580-81 instanti . . . A³ in *marg.* *E*: instanti non habet posse ut sit falsum in A. Si itaque quod est verum in A *DCD* enim] *supplevi*: non in *marg.* *E* 582 possit . . . A *E*: non potest esse falsum in A *DCD* 584-86 cassa . . . deduci in *marg.* *E* 586 deduci] *supplevi*: deducitur *E* 590 ad . . . deductione in *marg.* *E* 591 post instanti *add.* *E* sit 593 post aeternitate¹ *exp.* *E* omne esse in *marg.* *E*

of free choice and divine foreknowledge rests on the introduction of new modal notions. But these notions are explained by Grosseteste in terms of powers *ab aeterno*, not powers for changes in time. In this chapter Grosseteste raises difficulties for this conception of power, and in chapter 9 he presents an account of divine power in response to these difficulties.

⁸⁹ quidlibet . . . est: quoted in *DCD*, 840.

⁹⁰ sicut . . . A: quoted in *DCD*, 840.

⁹¹ It is a fundamental principle for Grosseteste that unactualized powers can be reduced to act. Grosseteste means by this that they can come into act, that is, so that the agent undergoes a change. It may be noted that the objections listed in 8.2-8.6 all rest on the assumption that God's power to ϕ is not in act if God does not ϕ . In chapter 9 Grosseteste employs the notion of rational powers, which are actualized by the occurrence of either of opposites, to rebut this assumption, while maintaining the principle of the reducibility of unactualized powers to act.

⁹² Cf. Grosseteste's *Commentarius in VIII libros Physicorum* (ed. Dales, 66): "Esse huius infiniti, scilicet infiniti divisione, est esse potencia. Non tamen sic est potencia quod aliquando erit actu, sicut statua que nunc est potencia forte aliquando erit actu; sed sic est potencia quod dum aliquid eius redigitur ad actum, aliquid ipsius semper est futurum." (I have altered Dales's punctuation.)

⁹³ aeternitas . . . simplicior: quoted in *DCD*, 840.

⁹⁴ aeternitas . . . est: quoted in *DCD*, 840.

scivisse et sciturus esse, quia eius scire nulli tempori defuit vel deerit. Igitur non est posse ad non scire A.

[8.5] Item, si omne posse sine actu solum respectu futuri actus est, quomodo verum est esse aliquod posse ad *Antichristum fuisse futurum* fuisse
 600 falsum sine initio? Ponatur quod Sortes non cucurrit heri, tamen ante hesternum diem erat posse ad eius cursum in die hesterna, nunc autem non est posse ad eiusdem cursum in die hesterna, sed desiit illud posse. Similiter nullo modo, ut videtur, est posse ad hoc, quod numquam fuit falsum fuisse falsum in praeterito.

605 [8.6] Item, si haec possibilitas est sine actu suo et cassa non est, est deducibilis in actum suum.⁹⁵ Sed eius actus est falsitas sine initio. Ergo est deductibilis in falsitatem sine initio. Ergo initialis est falsitas sine initio.

[8.7] {Item, in aeternis idem est posse et agere. Sed non agit nisi unum. Ergo non potest nisi unum oppositorum.}

610 [8.8] Item, quicquid est in potentia sine actu illius potentiae, perfectibile est per actum eiusdem potentiae. Ergo si Deus habet potentiam aliquam sine actu eiusdem potentiae, perfectibilis est et ipse imperfectus est.

[8.9] Item, quod sine initio et aeternum est, non habet ante se aliquid prius vel tempore vel natura. Sed omne posse oppositorum tempore vel
 615 natura prius est utroque. Ergo si alterum oppositorum est sine initio et aeternum, non habet ante se tempore vel natura aliquid posse. Ergo non posse sui et oppositi sui. Ergo *Antichristum fuisse futurum* non habet ante se tempore vel natura posse ad se et ad suum oppositum; similiter *Deum scire A* vel *velle A*.

620 [8.10] Item, cum haec sit vera /300rb/ in aeternitatis indivisibilitate: "Deus scit A," quaeretur an haec sit vera: "Deus potest nescire A," an haec magis: "Deus potuit nescire A"? Quod si dicatur quod haec est magis vera: "Deus potuit etc.," tunc hoc verbum "potuit" aliquam prioritatem dicit illius posse quod significat ad actum sciendi A. Sed quae prioritas est respectu
 625 aeternitatis Dei?⁹⁶

[8.11] E contra: Cum Deus habeat arbitrium summe liberum, summe voluntarium est quod scit et facit. Sed cuicumque est aliquid voluntarium, eidem est posse ad oppositum. Si enim non est posse ad oppositum, hoc

597 post ad add. DCD ipsum non² corr. E ex nos 600 quod add. E sup. lin.
 E 608 Sed FMW: om. E 624 post respectu del. E prioritatis 625 aeternitatis
 in marg. E 628 Si . . . oppositum in marg. E

⁹⁵ si . . . suum: quoted in DCD, 842.

⁹⁶ 8.9 and 8.10 raise difficulties over the sense in which the divine power is prior to act. Much of chapter 9 is devoted to answering this problem.

est illi necessarium et non voluntarium. Sed, sicut dicit Anselmus (*De*
 630 *concordia gratiae, praedestinationis et liberi arbitrii*), "non est necesse Deum
 velle quod vult"⁹⁷ (immo liberum et voluntarium est illi velle quod vult),
 ita est ei posse ad non velle quod vult et ad velle quod non vult; similiter
 ad scire et non scire.

[8.12] Item, rationales potestates eadem sunt oppositorum.⁹⁸ Sed in Deo
 635 est maxime potestas rationalis, quia ipse, ut dicit Seneca, "est totus ratio."⁹⁹
 Ergo, cum eius potestas sit summe rationalis, nulla potestas magis erit
 oppositorum.

[8.13] Item, si est in aeternitate actus aliquis cum posse ad oppositum
 eiusdem actus, cum aeternitas indivisibilis sit et totum simul, necessario,
 640 ut videtur, simul erunt vera: "Scit hoc" et "Potest scire eius oppositum."

Capitulum 9

[9.1] Vel distinguetur sic, ut dicatur etiam ibi posse esse prius actu suo
 et tamen non aliud esse ibi posse quam scire vel velle? Quemadmodum
 enim lux non est tempore sed natura et causa prior splendore, et si esset
 645 lux aeterna et sine initio, esset similiter splendor aeternus et sine initio,
 nihilominus tamen lux gignens splendorem naturaliter et causaliter prior
 esset splendore genito. Et sicut secundum Chrysostomum Pater etiam non
 aeternitate, non natura est prior Filio, sed causa¹⁰⁰ (ipse enim sic dicit super

630 gratiae in marg. E 640 scire corr. E ex nescire 642 dicatur corr. E ex
 dicantur 643 post posse exp. E esse 645 esset . . . initio in marg. E post initio
 exp. E nihilominus tamen lux aeterna et sine initio

⁹⁷ Anselm, *De concordia* 1.3 (ed. Schmitt, 251.3-4).

⁹⁸ The most likely sources for the notion of rational powers are Boethius's commentaries on *De interpretatione* (ed. Meiser). See for example p. 451.2-4 of the second commentary: "et hoc quidem in omnibus rationalibus potestatibus planum est eas plurimorum esse contrariorum et opposita valere." Grosseteste's terminology here and elsewhere in *De libero arbitrio* is close to that employed by Boethius in his commentaries and translation of *De interpretatione*; there is no reason to think he is drawing on Aristotle's *Metaphysics* here.

⁹⁹ Seneca, *Naturales quaestiones* 1, prol. 14 (ed. Haase, 59). The passage reads: "Quid ergo interest inter naturam dei et nostram? nostri melior pars animus est, in illo nulla pars extra animum est. totus est ratio. . . ."

¹⁰⁰ The reference to Chrysostom in fact is to John Scotus Eriugena's *Homilies on the Prologue of John* (ed. Jeaneau). Eriugena's editor, Jeaneau, notes Grosseteste's use of this work in *De libero arbitrio*, the *Quaestio de calore*, and Grosseteste's unedited *Commentarius in Psalmos* (see 138-39). Grosseteste also uses it in his *Hexaemeron* 5.21.3 (ed. Dales and Gieben, 181). See also the discussion in James McEvoy, "The Sun as *res* and *signum*: Grosseteste's Commentary on *Ecclesiasticus* ch. 43, vv. 1-5," *Recherches de théologie ancienne et médiévale* 41 (1974): 38-91, at 48-49 and 73 note *e*. As McEvoy notes, Grosseteste's reference to Chrysostom is understandable, since the text is described in a number of early Anglo-Norman manuscripts as *beati Ioannis episcopi*.

“In principio erat Verbum”: “Praecedit Pater Verbum non natura sed causa.

650 Praecedit Pater Verbum causaliter; praecedit Filius omnia quae per ipsum
facta sunt, naturaliter”¹⁰¹), sic posse ibi aliquo modo praecedit actum, non
aeternitate, nec forte natura, cum sint unum in natura et una natura, sed
forte praecedit ibi posse actum causa et etiam prioritate a qua non convertitur
consequentia, sicut animal praecedit hominem, cum tamen non sint aliud
655 et aliud posse et actus in substantia; sicut Pater prior est Filio causa, cum
tamen Pater et Filius unum sint in substantia.¹⁰²

[9.2] Haec prioritas causalis insinuat ex consignificatione praeteriti per
hoc verbum “potuit.” Cum dico: “Deus potuit non scivisse A” et cum dicitur:
“Deus posset non scivisse A,” insinuat libertas arbitrii et potestas rationalis
660 una ad hoc naturaliter, quae est in actu ad suum oppositum. Potest itaque
haec praedicatio, cum dico: “Deus potest,” redire super ipsam naturam
potentem; et sic verum est quod potest utrumque oppositorum. Sic verum
est quod dicit Anselmus: Deus potest non velle quod vult et constat quod
potest velle quod vult, et ita potest opposita.¹⁰³ Et sic etiam de vi sermonis
665 propter prioritatem insinuatam per hoc verbum “potuit,” redit eiusdem verbi
praedicatio; similiter huius verbi “posset.” Vel potest haec praedicatio redire
super ipsum consideratum in ratione agentis unum oppositorum, et sic est
impossibile ipsum non velle quod vult vel non scire quod scit. Est enim
in Dei natura /300va/ posse ad utrumque, quia causaliter praecedit
670 utrumque, sed super ipsum agentem alterum, cum sit immutabilis, non est
posse ad oppositum eius quod in actu est.¹⁰⁴ Sicut enim secundum

663 est *add. E sup. lin.* 664 etiam] *supplevi*: enim *E DCD* de in *marg. E*
666 *post* praedicatio² *add. DCD* Deus potest non velle aut non scire A: *marginalia illegibilia*
in *E* 668 *post* impossibile *exp. E p* ipsum in *marg. E* 670 agentem] *supplevi*:
agens *E DCD*

¹⁰¹ Eriugena, *Prologue* (ed. Jeaneau, 234.20-24)

¹⁰² The reference to the non-conversion of a consequence and the priority of animal to man seems to derive ultimately from Aristotle's account of priority in chapter 12 of the *Categories*. Aristotle lists five kinds of priority, of which the second, even though it is not called natural priority by him in this text, is so described by his commentators and seems to be what Grosseteste has in mind here. Thus in his *In Categorias Aristotelis*, Boethius describes Aristotle's second sense of priority as follows: “When I say man I have thereby said animal; when I say animal nothing yet has been said of man. For every man is an animal, but not every animal is a man” (PL 64:284). The relationship between this notion of priority and the non-conversion of a consequence is later made clear in Abelard's discussion in the *Dialectica*, where he too identifies Aristotle's second kind of priority as a natural priority and writes that it is “secundum non-conversionem inferentiae” (ed. De Rijk, 371.20-21). For Eriugena on priority in the Trinity, see also the paper by M. Cappuyns, O.S.B., “Glose inédite de Jean Scot sur un passage de Maxime,” *Recherches de théologie ancienne et médiévale* 31 (1964): 320-24.

¹⁰³ Cf. Anselm, *De concordia* 1.3 (ed. Schmitt, 251). Grosseteste is not quoting Anselm here.

¹⁰⁴ potest . . . est: quoted in *DCD*, 817.

distinctionem Anselmi libera voluntas hominis, ubi posse temporaliter
 praecedit actum, "potest non velle et non potest non velle, sed necesse est
 eam velle (potest namque non velle antequam velit, quia libera est, et cum
 675 iam vult, non potest non velle, sed eam velle necesse est, quoniam impossibile
 est illi id ipsum simul et velle et non velle)";¹⁰⁵ sic forte in Deo, ubi non
 est aliqua temporalis praecessio, sed causalis, si respiciatur ipsa Dei natura
 non in ratione agendi et comparetur liberae voluntati hominis nudae ab
 actu antequam velit, verum erit dicere: "Deus potest non velle quod vult."
 680 Si vero respiciatur ipsa divina natura in ratione agendi et comparetur liberae
 voluntati hominis cum iam actu vult, verum erit dicere: "Deum necesse est
 velle quod vult et non velle quod non vult." Impossibile est enim eum non
 velle quod vult vel velle quod non vult. Quam distinctionem facit in nostro
 posse et actu prioritas temporalis, hanc ibidem facit prioritas causalis, vel
 685 forte utrimque eam facit prioritas causalis et subiecti, super quod redit
 praedicatio diversa, diversa consideratione. Sed manifestior est distinctio ubi
 comitatur prioritas temporalis.

[9.3] Per talem quoque distinctionem considerationis subiecti cum
 praedicatur posse de Deo, dicimus Deum posse creare plures mundos vel
 690 infinitos mundos, et tamen ipsum non posse hoc. Si enim respiciatur ipsa
 Dei natura in infinitum potens, potest quidem hoc de potentia. Si vero ipsa
 eadem respiciatur in agendis ordinatissima, impossibile est eum plures
 mundos creare et impossibile est eum mundum unum non creare; tamen
 de eius potentia est hoc possibile.

695 [9.4] Similiter potuit Deus, quantum est de potentia, aliter liberasse
 hominem quam per Filii sui mortem. Sed si consideretur omnia agens
 convenientissime, non potuit aliter hominem liberasse. Unde Augustinus dicit
 quod aliter potuit liberasse;¹⁰⁶ Anselmus vero quod non potuit aliter
 liberasse,¹⁰⁷ et similiter multi alii auctores.

700 [9.5] Et¹⁰⁸ ad iam dictorum evidentiam, ponamus liberum arbitrium

672 *post* Anselmi *exp.* *E* ubi 676 ubi *in marg.* *E* *post non*² *exp.* *E* nisi
 678 comparetur] *supplevi*: comparatur *E* 680 comparetur] *supplevi*: comparatur *E*
 682 eum *in marg.* *E* 684-85 vel . . . causalis *in marg.* *E* 686 diversa² *in marg.* *E*
 690 Si enim *corr.* *E* ex enim si 691 infinitum *corr.* *E* ex infinitatum 692 eum]
supplevi: eam *E* DCD 693 eum] eam *E*: DCD 696 si *add.* *E* *sup.* *lin.*

¹⁰⁵ Anselm, *De concordia* 1.3 (ed. Schmitt, 251.20-23).

¹⁰⁶ Cf. *De Trinitate* 13.10.13 (CCL 50A:399-400).

¹⁰⁷ Anselm's *Cur Deus homo* constitutes a long argument for this thesis; a clear statement of it may be found in 2.6.

¹⁰⁸ The following thought experiment bears interesting similarities to a thought experiment Duns Scotus proposes (to similar effect) to show the existence of certain non-manifest powers. See his *Ordinatio* 1, d. 38, pt. 2, (ed. Balić, 6:417.22-418.10): "Tamen est et alia [potentia]

creatum non prius esse quam actu velit aliquid recte vel non recte, sicut forte fuit liberum arbitrium angeli et primi hominis. Nonne secundum hoc angelus, cum fuit simul cum primo actu existendi, voluit actu volendi aliquid bene vel male? utpote Gabriel aliquid bene, Lucifer aliquid male? Et in
 705 utriusque libera potestate fuit quod voluit, et uterque potuit voluisse oppositum eius quod voluit, alioquin nec iste laudabilis, nec ille vituperabilis, nec libertatem arbitrii habuissent. Intelligatur etiam eorum status fuisse simplex, scilicet instantaneus vel aeternus. Nonne simul cum actu unius oppositorum habuisset in eodem indivisibili uterque posse ad actum
 710 oppositum? Et vera esset talis praedicatio de utroque: "Iste potest velle oppositum eius quod vult vel non velle quod vult," si redeat praedicatio super naturam liberae voluntatis nude consideratam sine actu suo. Et quia de vi sermonis sic redit praedicatio cum hoc verbo "potuit" vel "posset," omnis animus statim concipit hanc esse veram: "Primus angelus statim simul
 715 cum primo fuit et hoc voluit, potuit /300vb/ vel posset hoc idem non voluisse." Et quia verbum praesens magis de usu sermonis redit super subiectum secundum dispositionem quam actu habet, animus statim magis concipit hanc esse falsam: "Potest non velle quod vult," si in indivisibili vult, sicut positum est.¹⁰⁹ Posse autem aeternum quod est ad *Antichristum*
 720 *fuisse futurum* habuisse veritatem et non habuisse veritatem sine initio, non est aliud quam posse Dei, quo potuit ab aeterno et sine initio velle vel non velle *Antichristum fore* sive scire vel non scire *Antichristum fore*.

[9.6] Patet itaque quod illud quod est, necesse est esse dum est.¹¹⁰ Et tamen non est inconveniens, sed alicui est necessarium, in eodem indivisibili
 725 esse posse ad oppositum eius quod est, sicut in dicto exemplo de angelo,

707-9 Intelligatur . . . habuisset in marg. E 712 post voluntatis exp. E unde nude in marg. E 716 Et add. E sup. lin.

(non ita manifesta), absque omni successione. Ponendo enim voluntatem creatam tantum habere esse in uno instanti, et quod ipsa in illo instanti habeat hanc volitionem, non necessario tunc habet eam. Probatio: si enim in illo instanti haberet eam necessario, cum non sit causa nisi in illo instanti quando causaret eam, ergo simpliciter voluntas—quando causaret—necesse causaret; non enim modo est contingens causa quia praeexsistebat ante istud instans in quo causat (et tunc 'ut praeexsistens' potuit causare vel non causare), quia sicut hoc ens quando est, est necessarium vel contingens, ita causa quando causat, tunc causat necessario vel contingenter. Ex quo ergo in isto instanti causat hoc velle et non necessario, ideo contingenter. Est ergo haec potentia causae 'ad oppositum eius quod causat' sine successione." Scotus's talk of a potency "non ita manifesta" recalls Grosseteste's talk in 9.2 of the distinction between the senses in which an agent can and cannot act as "more manifest where a temporal priority accompanies."

¹⁰⁹ Quemadmodum . . . est: quoted in *DCD*, 840-41.

¹¹⁰ Cf. Aristotle, *De interpretatione* 9 (19a23-24, ed. Minio-Paluello, 17.3-4). This paragraph is a reply to 8.2-8.4.

et quod non redit praedicatio necessitatis et possibilitatis oppositi super simpliciter idem et eodem modo consideratum.¹¹¹

[9.7]¹¹² Item, verum est quod possibilitas impossibilis ad actum deduci nulla est possibilitas aut cassa est, et tamen possibilitas qua Deus potest
730 non scire vel potuit non scire quod scit aliqua est et cassa non est, quia est possibilitas rationalis et eadem oppositorum, et utrum oppositorum sit, in actum suum educitur, cum ad utrumque sit una et eadem.¹¹³

[9.8]¹¹⁴ Item, verum est quod possibilitas sine actu solum est respectu futuri, sed possibilitas oppositorum in Deo non est sine actu, ut iam patet,
735 cum eadem sit oppositorum et in utrovis est in suo actu. Nec est aliqua possibilitas praesens respectu praeteriti, nec hoc significatur simul cum sic dicitur: "Deus potest non scivisse quod scit" vel "*Antichristum fuisse futurum* potest non fuisse verum vel fuisse falsum sine initio," sed significatur quod est posse liberi arbitrii divini aeternum ad non-scire praecedens aeternitate
740 omnia praeterita; similiter esse posse idem ad falsum in hoc dicto *Antichristum fore*—falsum, dico, praecedens aeternitate omnia praeterita. Ipsum itaque posse quod signatur, non posse temporale quod praesens in tempore comparetur ad praeteritum, sed est posse aeternum supra tempus, praecedens causaliter ipsum scire vel nescire, sive verum, sive falsum, ad quod dicitur
745 esse, quae cum sunt, vel si essent, omnia praeterita aeternitatis prioritate, praecederent.

[9.9] Nota autem quod cum dicitur in angelo posse ad oppositum eius quod habet, si inesset idem oppositum, esset alterum quam sit.¹¹⁵ Non sic autem est in Deo, quia cum possit oppositum eius quod habet, si esset
750 oppositum, nullo modo propter hoc esset diversum vel alterum vel aliud ab eo quod est. Et hoc ideo est quia creaturae vel scientia vel voluntas ex parte ipsius creaturae non est simpliciter unum et idem et indifferens

738 non *add. E sup. lin.* 746 praecederent] *supplevi: p̄ient E*

¹¹¹ Patet . . . consideratum: quoted in *DCD*, 841.

¹¹² This paragraph is a reply to 8.6.

¹¹³ verum . . . eadem: quoted in *DCD*, 842. Bradwardine makes the following incisive comment on this passage: "Verumtamen, ut videtur, istud non plane sedat animum opponentis; intendit enim opponens, quod omnis potentia activa nedum possit in aliquem actum exire, verum in quemlibet actum respectu cuius dicitur esse potentia, et quando seu pro quando dicitur esse potentia" (842).

¹¹⁴ This paragraph is a reply to 8.5.

¹¹⁵ William of Auvergne presents the same view in his *De universo*, also seeing it as a way to make sense of God as having powers for the opposite of what he does consistently with his immutability and eternity. See *De universo* 1.3.16 ("Quomodo verum sit creatorem aliquid scivisse, vel praevidisse, quod tamen possibile sit ipsum non scivisse, vel praevidisse"). There are prefiguring of this view in Peter Lombard, 1 *Sent.* 42.10.

oppositorum. Dei autem scientia et voluntas ex parte ipsius scientis et
 volentis penitus est indifferens oppositorum, quia penitus eadem ex parte
 755 ipsius scientis qua scit hoc oppositum sciret reliquum oppositum, si futurum
 esset, et quod est huius scientia esset scientia oppositi, si illud oppositum
 esset futurum. Et huius, cuius nunc est scientia, esset idem non-scientia,
 sicut idem radius /301ra/ solis, qui est illustratio huius rei quae nunc est
 in hoc loco, esset illustratio vacuitatis eiusdem rei si abesset ab hoc loco.
 760 Et si ipsa illustratio esset visio, eadem esset visio praesentiae huius, si adesset,
 et absentiae, si abesset.

[9.10] Quapropter posse oppositorum in Deo primam invenit diversitatem
 in aeternis relationibus diversis ad creaturam. Sunt enim ipsius super
 aeternum ad creaturas innumerae et aeternae relationes, et etiam si non
 765 futurae fuissent creaturae, fuissent etiam aeternae relationes innumerae ad
 earum absentias. Et hae aeternae relationes non sunt Deus. Et tamen nihil
 aliud a Deo est aeternaliter, nec sunt plura aeterna, quia ipsae relationes
 extra suas extremitates non habent essentiam vel subsistentiam. Et propter
 hoc forte bene conceditur a quibusdam quod quaelibet talium relationum
 770 est Deus, quarum relationum tamen nulla est altera.¹¹⁶

753 *post scientis del. E quo scit hoc oppositum* 754-55 *eadem . . . qua] supplevi:*
eodem . . . quo E 759 *esset . . . loco in marg. E* 763 *ipsius ut vid. E* 768 *habent]*
supplevi: habet corr. E ex habent (!)

¹¹⁶ Grosseteste has raised a thorny issue. The problem is that he does not wish to admit a plurality of eternal beings besides God, and yet if we identify with God such things as the eternal relations, how are we to distinguish them from one another? This issue is gone into in intricate detail in the second recension of *De libero arbitrio*. The view that there is a plurality of eternal things besides God is also discussed in other works of the period. See, for example, the discussion in the *Summa theologica* ascribed to Alexander Hales, pt. 1, inq. 1, tract. 3, q. 2, chap. 11, and William of Auvergne's discussion in the *De universo* 1.3.18. On 13 January 1241, during William's period as bishop of Paris, the view that there is such an eternal plurality was condemned. As Bonaventure puts it, among the ten errors reproved "by the university of the Masters of Paris, in the time of Bishop William and Chancellor Odo and Brother Alexander of Hales, our brother and master . . . the seventh is that there are many truths from eternity which are not God" (see *Chartularium Universitatis Parisiensis*, ed. H. Denifle and A. Chatelian, 4 vols. (Paris, 1889-97), 1:170 ff. Just who proposed such a view is unclear, though one manuscript of the condemnation ascribes the condemned views to a brother Stephanus. Denifle suggests a brother Stephanus de Varnesia, a member of the Dominican order who seems to have been among the first masters of the order in Paris and was still teaching in Paris in 1248. Fr. Mandonnet suggests that the 1241 condemnation was directed not only at Stephanus de Varnesia but also at Richard Rufus ("Thomas d'Aquin, novice Prêcheur," *Revue Thomiste* 30 [1925]: 512-15). A. G. Little attacks this suggestion ("The Franciscan School at Oxford in the Thirteenth Century," *Archivum franciscanum historicum* 19 [1926]: 803-74, at 843 n. 2), but so far as I can see he only gives reasons to doubt the attribution to Richard Rufus. In any case, the references to this view in Grosseteste and William suggest that this view had some currency at least a decade before 1241.

[9.11] At in exemplo illustrationis a radio solis posse oppositorum ex parte rerum est, non ex parte solis. Numquid sic in Deo <quod> posse quod est ad scire hanc herbam cras crescere <et> ad non scire eam cras crescere est ex parte rerum et non ex parte ipsius? Immo ex parte ipsius
 775 est, sicut esset posse ex parte solis, si sol haberet vim motivam rerum sub suam illustrationem et vim ut non moveret, et ipse radius illustrans rem sub se praesentem esset vis educens rem in sui praesentiam idemque radius illustrans eiusdem rei absentis vacuitatem, esset potestas non educendi rem in sui praesentiam; vel, licet ex parte ipsius scientis id quod est, scientia
 780 huius esset opposita scientia si esset et huius non scientia, tamen bene sequitur quod si fieret de sciente hoc nesciens hoc, alteraretur et mutaretur; immo etiam desineret penitus esse, quia simplissimi mutatio non potest esse, nisi omnino defectionis. Et non sequitur: "Fit de creante non creans vel e contrario et de non Domino Dominus vel e contrario; ergo alteratur,"
 785 quia res eadem ens et non ens non est indifferens ad relationem quae est creatio sive dominatio. Sed eadem res cum est et cum non est, indifferens est ad relationem in verbo "sciendi" connotatam; quapropter non posset haec relatio desinere nisi per scientis commutationem.¹¹⁷

773-74 ad² . . . crescere in marg. E 779 post quod exp. E non 781 si in marg. E
 782 post mutatio exp. E si est non in marg. E 783 defectionis ut vid. E non¹
 corr. E ex tamen 785 post eadem exp. E enim ens¹ in marg. E 786-87 indifferens
 est in marg. E 787 posset] supplevi: posse E

¹¹⁷ It is Grosseteste's view that in the case of some relational predications of God, a change in the truth of a relational statement "God R x" entails a change in God, whereas this is not so in the case of other relational predications. The relations involved in the former kind of statement include knowing. Thus if a statement of the form "God knows X" changes in truth-value, God himself must change, which is impossible. Grosseteste's reasons for this are not clear but may be based on the view that God has *scientia* of everything that happens at every time, hence changes in things will not account for any changes in predications of knowledge of God, and so a change in such predications must be *ex parte Dei*. Other writers disagreed. Alexander of Hales adopted what seems to have been the more standard view, that predications of knowledge of God could change truth-value without God himself changing. In the example Grosseteste gives above of how God's knowledge may be the same although the object differs, Grosseteste has in mind not two successive temporal states but two situations different *ab aeterno*. In his tenth disputed question Alexander gives a similar example, but it is presented to illustrate his view that over time God's knowledge is the same, although its object differs. Thus he writes: "Ad hoc intelligendum tale est exemplum: si figeretur oculus in pariete et pertransirent res ante oculum, sit autem oculus aspiciens ita quod non accipiat similitudines rerum, nil lateret oculum, nec tamen in se mutaretur nec in receptione similitudinis et alterius; sed si oculus reciperet similitudines a rebus mutabilibus, necesse esset quod ad mutationem rerum reciperet mutationem. Cum ergo oculus divinus se ipso sciatur omnia, a mutabilitate rerum nullam trahit mutationem; immo eadem scientia cognoscit me sedere cum sedeo, et cum sto stare. Temporis enim diversitas comparatur ad aeternitatem sicut linea ad punctum: si punctus sit invariabilis, non trahit mutationem propter mutationem linearum" (*Quaestiones*, q. 10; ed. Collegium S. Bonaventurae, 1:131.19-31).

Capitulum 10¹¹⁸

790 [10.1] Dei autem praedestinatio, praeter causam repugnantiae ad liberum arbitrium quam videtur habere communem cum praescientia, aliter et specialiter liberum arbitrium videtur annihilare.

[10.2] Dei namque praedestinatio causa est bonorum praedestinatorum et talis causa quae non potest non esse nec potest ab effectu frustrari. Omnis
795 autem causae quae non potest non esse nec ab effectu frustrari, effectus non potest non esse. Praedestinationis igitur effectus non potest non esse. Igitur omnem praedestinationis effectum necessarium est esse. Necessario igitur salvabitur omnis salvandus. Igitur non ex libero arbitrio est salus aut opus bonum vitae aeternae meritorium.

800 [10.3] Forte aliquis responsor ad evadendum sic distingueret dicens: "Praedestinatum <esse> est necessarium, id tamen quod praedestinatum est non est necessarium sed contingens."

[10.4] Sed haec distinctio, licet sit vera, nil tamen ad veritatem videtur esse solutionis. Dicatur enim A effectus aliquis praedestinationis in se consideratus, nudus ab hoc accidente "praedestinatum," syllogizeturque hoc
805 modo: "Omnis effectus causae necessariae nec potentis a suo effectu frustrari est /301rb/ necessarius et non potens non esse. A est effectus talis causae. Ergo A non potest non esse sed est necessarium." Et ita quoad eius esse, nihil est liberum arbitrium, cum habens esse ex libero creaturae rationalis
810 arbitrio sit contingens, non necessarium.

[10.5] An forte praedestinationis effectus simpliciter erit magis *A contingenter esse* quam *A esse*? Verbi gratia, aliquis nunc existens viator salvandus nominetur Petrus. Non hoc: *Petrum*, scilicet, *fore salvandum*, sed

795 post frustrari add. DCD omnis	797 post esse del. E verum	Necessario
in marg. E	801 id corr. E ex idem	tamen in marg. E
806 a add. E sub lin.	812 esse ¹ in marg. E	803 Sed in marg. E
	813 salvandus in marg. E	

¹¹⁸ This whole chapter is repeated almost verbatim in *De causa Dei*. Bradwardine describes what Grosseteste is up to as follows: "Hoc autem totum clare testatur Robertus Lincolniensis de libero arbitrio 10 ubi agens de concordia praedestinationis et liberi arbitrii, primo facit realiter argumentum praemissum, et recitat virtualiter responsionem opinionis contrariae, et hypothesis principalis, distinguens propositiones huiusmodi, (Quicquid Deus praedestinat seu vult fore necesse est fore) secundum compositionem et divisionem, et concedentem sensum compositum ac negantem divisum; et deinde ipsa formaliter approbata, ac materialiter reprobat, secundum sententiam propriam respondendo, dicit praevolutionem, puta praedestinationem divinam, esse causam necessariam in essendo necessitate sequente, et infrustrabilem in causando; quare et quemlibet totalem eius effectum simili necessitate futurum" (DCD, 823-24).

Petrum fore salvandum esse contingens, id est, *Petrum fore salvandum non*
815 *ex necessitate sed cum possibilitate existendi eius oppositum*, scilicet *Petrum*
non salvari, est simpliciter effectus praedestinationis. Scit enim Deus non
solum Petrum salvandum, sed Petrum non ex necessitate sed contingenter
salvandum, et sic ab aeterno praeordinavit, scilicet Petrum salvandum non
ex necessitate sed cum possibilitate contrarii. Et hoc totum infallibiter a
820 Deo praecognitum et praeordinatum, scilicet *Petrum salvari non ex neces-*
sitate sed cum possibilitate existendi oppositum, scilicet *Petrum non salvari*,
est necessarium simpliciter. Itaque effectus praedestinationis, quae est causa
invariabilis nec potest a suo frustrari effectum, non est *Petrum salvari*, sed
Petrum salvari non necessario sed contingenter. Et hoc totum, scilicet *Petrum*
825 *salvari non necessario sed contingenter* est necessarium, sicut arguit supra-
positus syllogismus debere esse praedestinationis effectum. Sed necessarium
dico necessitate consequente, non antecedente, necessitate conditionis secun-
dum Boethium,¹¹⁹ non simplici¹²⁰—necessitate, inquam, quae est veritas non
potens, cum sit, de cetero desinere, potuit tamen numquam fuisse; non
830 necessitate quae est veritas qua necesse sit semper fuisse et numquam potuit
non fuisse. Ac per hoc *Petrum salvari* non est necessarium sed contingens.
Haec itaque maior suprapositi syllogismi propositio, scilicet “Omnis causae
quae non potest non esse nec ab effectu frustrari, effectus non potest non
esse sed est necessarius,” sic videtur esse intelligenda ut intelligamus effectum
835 simpliciter et totaliter et non secundum partem, hoc est, totum effectum
comproportionatum causae nullis omissis conditionibus; utpote respectu
huius causae, quae est praedestinatio, non erit *Petrum salvari* simpliciter
et totaliter effectus, sed hoc totum, *Petrum salvari non ex necessitate sed*
contingenter. Igitur secundum quod vere intelligitur maior propositio, si sub
840 praedestinationis effectu assumatur *Petrum salvari* vel aliquid tale non
adiecta hac conditione “non ex necessitate sed contingenter,” non corres-
pondet assumptio maiori propositioni nec sequitur conclusio. Si autem
assumatur simpliciter et totaliter effectus cadens sub praedestinatione, utpote
Petrum salvari non ex necessitate sed contingenter, correspondenter maiori
845 assumitur et conclusio sequitur.¹²¹

818 *post praeordinavit exp. E in*
827 *conditionis corr. E ex condionali*
836 *post comproportionatum exp. E esse*

scilicet *add. E sup. lin.*
832 *post Omnis exp. E esse*
causae *in marg. E*

825 *est in marg. E*
causae *in marg. E*

¹¹⁹ Cf. Boethius, *De consol. philos.* 5.6.26 (CCL 94:103.91-94).

¹²⁰ Dei autem . . . simplici: quoted in *DCD*, 824.

¹²¹ Ac . . . sequitur: quoted in *DCD*, 824.

Capitulum 11

[11.1] Si autem est haec solutio vera, iure monstrans concordiam praedestinationis et liberi arbitrii et contingentiae rerum contingentium, erit eadem solutio monstrans concordiam libertatis arbitrii et gratiae.

850 [11.2] Cum enim gratia non sit nisi Dei voluntas, qua gratis salvat, vult autem verbi gratia non solum Petrum salvari, sed ipsum salvari ex libertate arbitrii sui, et non necessario sed contingenter, sicut praescit et praedestinat non solum ipsum salvari, sed salvari cum adiectione praedicta, gratia sive voluntas divina non cogit *Petrum salvari* /301va/ vel aliquid consimile esse
855 necessarium, sed, sicut dictum est,¹²² *ipsum salvari ex libero arbitrio et contingenter* esse necessarium.¹²³

[11.3] Si igitur obiciatur gratiam vel divinam voluntatem causam esse salutis invariabilem at per hoc salvationem alicuius esse necessariam—sicut de praedestinatione obiectum est—videtur posse responderi sicut ad obiecta
860 de praedestinatione responsum est.

[11.4] Sed adhuc aliter videtur quod gratia et praedestinatio liberum destruunt arbitrium. Sit enim A causa aliqua, B sit eius effectus. Si igitur A efficit totum B nihilque sit B quod non efficiatur ab A, non poterit aliud ab A esse efficiens vel totius vel partis B. Ergo A non poterit habere secum
865 coefficientem causam vel coadiutricem in efficiendo totum vel partem B. Omnis enim coadiutor et efficiens aliquid efficit cum efficiente, quod non efficit ipsum efficiens, ut patet, cum movens lapidem assumit sibi coadiutorem ad movendum, aliquam partem totius motus efficit coadiutor quam non efficeret idem motor omni modo sibi indifferens sine coadiutore.

870 [11.5] Potest autem esse ut, A efficiat B, sit tota causa B et B sit tota causa C, et ita tam A quam B utrumque efficit totum C et erit tota eiusdem totius causa, sed hoc primaria, illud autem secundaria causa; hoc mediata, illud immediata causa tota totius. Verumtamen neutrum horum dicitur coefficientens et coadiutor alterius. Non enim coefficientens vel coadiutor est tota
875 causa, nec totius causa, sed pars causae et partis effecti. Igitur habens coefficientem et coadiutorem non est tota causa totius, vel si est tota totius causa, non habet coefficientem vel coadiutorem.

[11.6] Gratia autem sive praedestinatio est tota causa totius boni gratuiti quod est in homine. Ait enim: {“Sine me nihil potestis facere.”¹²⁴ Et

850 gratis ut vid. E 869 post motor exp. E cum omni in marg. E

¹²² In 10.5.

¹²³ Cum . . . necessarium: quoted in DCD, 824-25.

¹²⁴ Jo 15:5.

880 *Apostulus*: "Non est volentis neque currentis sed Dei miserentis."¹²⁵ Et
 iterum: "Qui operatur in nobis velle et perficere pro bona voluntate."¹²⁶
 Et iterum: "Quid habes quod non accepisti?"¹²⁷ Non est enim essentia et
 creatura vel aliud quod per Verbum non est factum: "Omnia enim per ipsum
 facta sunt."¹²⁸ Quod autem per Verbum non fit essentia non est sed sola
 885 defectio et nihil. Totum ergo hominis bonum gratuitum, cum nihil eius
 consistat in defectione, factum est per Verbum. Igitur Verbum in efficiendo
 illud non habet coefficiens vel coadiuvans. Non igitur sumus Dei coadiutores
 per liberum arbitrium,} sed mentitur *Apostulus* dicens "Dei coadiutores
 sumus."¹²⁹ Igitur cum Verbum vel praedestinatio vel gratia sit tota causa
 890 totius boni gratuiti, videtur perire liberi arbitrii adiutorium, vel si per liberum
 arbitrium Dei coadiutores sumus, non omnia per Verbum facta sunt.

[11.7] Item, sicut dicit Bernardus, velle simpliciter est a creatione, sed
 velle bonum a gratia.¹³⁰ In velle igitur bonum est motio et erectio velle
 creati super se. Numquid autem in hac super se motione est aliquid quod
 895 non efficiat gratia? Si dicatur quod aliquid, sit illud A. A igitur est non
 A gratia. Igitur nil meriti habet vel praemii illi correspondet.

[11.8] Item, si A non est A gratia, cum A sit melius quam simpliciter
 velle, ipsum liberum arbitrium efficit se melius se, quod est impossibile.

[11.9] {Item, immediatissima causa omnis conditae essentiae est Verbum
 900 Dei aeternum. Nihil enim potest esse tam proximum alicui es- /301vb/
 sentiae conditae secundum aliquam actionem, nec tam propinque et intime
 illud attingere secundum suam actionem, quam propinque et intime aeterna
 sapientia secundum suum scire attingit omnem essentiam, quod idem ipsum
 scire est eiusdem essentiae efficere immediatius. Ergo cum alio agente et
 905 efficiente, efficit aeterna sapientia omnem conditam essentiam. Sed agens
 immediatissimum sibi omnino sufficiens nulloque penitus egens, quomodo
 habebit coadiutorem?

[11.10] Probat autem Augustinus in libro *Unde malum* Deum creasse
 mundum ex nihilo eo quod sibi sufficiens est et ideo non sit ab aliqua creatura
 910 adiutus, sic dicens: "Nec quisquam de Deo optime existimat, qui non eum

889 Verbum] *supplevi*: verbis *E* 896 vel praemii *in marg.* *E* 900 proximum
F M W: proximus *E* 903 *post omnem exp.* *E* scientiam

¹²⁵ Rom 9:16.

¹²⁶ Phil 2:13.

¹²⁷ 1 Cor 4:7.

¹²⁸ Jo 1:3.

¹²⁹ 1 Cor 3:9.

¹³⁰ Bernard of Clairvaux, *De gratia et libero arbitrio* 6.16 (ed. Leclercq and Rochais, 177-78).

945 color, nihil quod non efficiat lux. Similiter est in speciebus colorum omnium
/302ra/ ad visum venientium et per aerem transeuntium. Species enim coloris
in oculo meo vel in aere medio tota efficitur a colore rei visae et tota efficitur
a superfusa luce et redeunte ad oculum per aerem a solis luce. Aliud
exemplum (Augustini in libro *Hypomnestico*) est sessor et equus quorum

950 uterque totum peragit iter et quamlibet itineris partem.¹³³

[11.15] Sed si sic dicatur de actione Dei et liberi arbitrii, scilicet quod
mixtim non singillatim, simul non vicissim, per singulos operentur, et quod
totum singula peragant opere individuo, numquid consimiliter potest dici
quod in omni effectui cuiuslibet creaturae Deus et proxima per se causa
955 eiusdem creaturae operentur illam mixtim, non singillatim, simul, non
vicissim, non partim hoc, partim illa, sed totum singula opere individuo?
An quia ipse est causa primaria totam penetrans causam secundariam et
proximam—et non solum ipsam sed et eius causationem et actionem—nilque
efficiat causa secundaria proxima quod ipsa causa prima non efficiat etiam
960 propinquius}—an inquam quia ita est, agunt mixtim et simul et totum singula
opere individuo? {Numquid si causa secundaria proxima faceret aliquid opere
dividuo ab ipsius opere oporteret necessario eandem aliquid facere quod
ipse non faceret? Et si ipsa ageret opere dividuo, ipse non esset efficiens
intime eiusdem causae secundariae operationem.

965 [11.16] Si autem similiter currit res in aliis causis et libero arbitrio collatis
ad causam primam, cur non similiter currit sermo ut sicut dicitur “Deus
adiutor noster et nos adiutores vel coadiutores Dei,” sic dicatur adiutor
aliarum causarum et aliae causae eius coadiutrices? An forte quia adiutorium
non dicitur nisi ubi est liberum arbitrium quod sponte potest praestare
970 consensum adiuvanti vel obsequium agenti libereque et sponte relinquere
adiutorium praestitum vel non praestare, ut in nomine “adiutorii” importetur
haec libertas faciendi et non faciendi. Quod dicit Augustinus: “Si est adiutus
sibi insufficiens est,”¹³⁴ verum est si dicatur adiutus adiutore divisim operante
vel quem ipse non fecerit; sicut esset si materia ab ipso creata non esset
975 sed ab aeterno extitisset, sicut ponit Aristoteles,¹³⁵ et esset ei subiectum solum
ex quo et in quo operaretur, sicut est ferrum fabro et lignum carpentario.

948 luce¹ in marg. E 951 si FMW: om. E 952 singulos FM: om. W: singulas
E 956 partim¹ W: partem EFM partim² W: partem EFM 959 post efficiat²
exp. E in ut vid. etiam in marg. E 963 post ipse¹ del. E necessario non¹ in
marg. E 974 esset¹ corr. E ex esse sup. lin. 975 sed FMW: si E extitisset]
supplevi: extitissent ut vid. E

¹³³ Cf. Pseudo-Augustine, *Hypomnesticon* 3.11.20 (PL 45:1632).

¹³⁴ Augustine, *De lib. arb.* 1.12-13 (CSEL 74:6). Grosseteste paraphrases here.

¹³⁵ Aristotle, *Physics* 1.9. Cf. Grosseteste's comment in *Comm. in Phys.*: “Si autem Aristoteles intelligat materiam ingeneratam, hoc est eternum, sicut inponunt ei pie philo-

Capitulum 12

[12.1] Alterius modi quoque rationibus videtur posse argui liberum arbitrium nihil esse. Supponatur enim Deum fecisse universum creaturae
 980 suae bonum valde, hoc est, quam bonum esse et fieri potuit universum. Hoc enim congruit potentiae, sapientiae et bonitati eius. Insuper quoque ponantur tria bona esse: A, B, C; quartum et quintum sint D et E. Sed sit D melius quam E, et sit idem D non deteriorans sed tantum vel plus meliorans praedicta tria, scilicet A, B, C, ex sui ad haec adiectione, quam
 985 eadem tria meliorat E, si E eisdem tribus adiciatur. Igitur aggregatum ex his quattuor, scilicet A, B, C, D, melius erit aggregato ex A, B, C, E. Sit igitur D non posse peccare et E sit posse peccare. Cum igitur non posse peccare, sive natura, ut Deus, sive confirmatione, ut angelus, sit melius quam posse peccare, si universitati creatae adiectum esset a principio non posse
 990 peccare in homine et angelo loco /302rb/ eius quod est posse peccare, melior fuisset universitas. Sed facta est quam bona fieri potuit. Ergo facta est cum non posse peccare in homine et angelo; ergo sine arbitrio ad utrumque flexibili. Nec potest dici quod non posse peccare non sit melius quam posse peccare, quia hoc in patria commutabitur in illud; nec erit ibidem commutatio
 995 nisi in melius. Nec potest dici quod non posse peccare tolleretur esse hominem, quia in patria erit homo et simul non potens peccare.¹³⁶

[12.2] Item, erimus in patria ex confirmatione non potentes peccare. Sed bonum quod diuturnius est melius est. Diuturnius autem fuisset hoc bonum, si ab initio fuisset. Ergo melius esset universum si sic esset conditum.

985 meliorat] *supplevi*: melior at E 994 erit *F W* ut vid. *M*: erat *E*

sophantes, falsum dicit. Ex nichilo enim in principio temporis facta est et ex seipsa corruptibilis, hoc est de se potens redire in nichil" (ed. Dales, 30). In the passage in question Aristotle says that matter in one sense neither is generated nor corrupted, a view which would suggest its eternity to one who did not have a doctrine of creation *ex nihilo*.

¹³⁶ An argument along quite similar lines is put forward by Alexander of Hales in his *Quaestiones*, q. 32, d. 1 (ed. Collegium S. Bonaventurae, 1:567.18-568.11): "Quodlibet fuit in se bonum, in universitate remansit optimum, sicut contingit esse in creaturis. Sit A universitas naturarum quae creatae sunt, [B] quoddam bonum, C aliquod minus illo. Si ergo addatur B A, melior erit coniunctio illa quam si C addatur eidem, quia melius in se et in coniunctione. Ergo si universitas dicit optimum, quia ab optimo in natura. Nam cum dico 'in universo,' non dico 'in hac parte vel illa' . . . Sic unaquaeque creatura est bonum, quod non tamen habet similitudinem perfectam, sed sicut possibile; et similiter B in coniunctione et in se melior est quam C. Ergo si A et C determinant bonum, multo fortius A et B determinant bonum. Sic: A sit potentia ad facere bonum cum eo quod est non posse non facere bonum; C sit potentia faciendi bonum et malum. Bonum est utrumque, quia bona potentia quae potest facere bonum et non bonum, et illa quae potest facere bonum et non potest non facere bonum. Sed melior est potentia quae potest facere bonum et non potest non facere bonum quam alia, quia secundum hoc [magis] assimilatur homo Deo."

1000 [12.3] Item, si dicatur quod potentia peccandi sit impotentia, quia ablata
impotentia per positionem potentiae fit ipsa res melior, ergo ablata peccandi
potentia, quae vere impotentia est, et posita peccandi impotentia, quae vere
potentia est, erit res melior. Ergo si sic fuisset in universo ab initio, fuisset
universum melius.

1005 [12.4] Item, quis sapiens paterfamilias domum sibi aedificaturus, non
aedificat illam quantum scit et potest pulchram et stabilem et nulla ex parte
ruinae patentem? Atqui rationalis creatura domus Dei est et hanc sibi in
domum creavit. Igitur si scivit et potuit nulla ex parte ruinae patentem eam
fecit, sed stabilem et inflexibilem ad ruinam per peccatum.

1010 [12.5] Nec potest responderi quod si Deus eam talem fecisset non esset
ipsa homo vel angelus, quia nunc sunt angeli tales et nos in patria simul
tales erimus et homines.}

[12.6] An forte cum bonum quoddam sit posse peccare, universitas
considerata cum his duobus bonis, scilicet posse peccare et posse non peccare,
1015 si consideretur non secundum statum alicuius temporis particularis signati
ipsa universitas sed secundum totum numerum et totam durationem ipsius
universi, melior est cum his duobus bonis quam cum eorum altero tantum.
Si autem esset non posse peccare absque naturali posse ad peccandum, non
esset creatura rationalis voluntaria. Si autem esset naturale posse ad
1020 peccandum, si tamen confirmatum et non posse peccare priusquam illectum
restitisset illicienti, non esset virtus perseverans in bono vel praemium.

[12.7] {Itaque si non esset naturale posse ad peccandum, non fuissent
multa bona quae sunt, et esset defectus integritatis et pulchritudinis universi,
nisi, ut dictum est, esset posse peccare non confirmatum in non posse peccare
1025 ante illectum. Cum autem hoc posse illectum peccat, nihil deperit integritati
et pulchritudini universi, cum id quod deturpatur per culpam ordinatur per
iustam poenam. Stat enim sic pulchritudo iustitiae retributionis quantum
staret si esset solum bene agens, cui esset sola retributio praemii.

[12.8] Sed forte alicui videbitur inconueniens quod dicitur esse naturale
1030 posse ad peccandum, cum posse peccare magis videatur impotentia. Quia
dicit Augustinus: "Potentia peccandi vespera est creaturae rationalis,"¹³⁷ quae
ideo potentia non est quod ex solo defectu rationalis creaturae est.

1000 *post* impotentia *add.* *F M W* melius sequitur propositum quia *F M W*:
sed *E* 1001 impotentia *corr. sup. E lin. ex* potentia 1003 si *F M W*: *om. E*
1010 potest responderi *F*: potest respondi *E*: dici potest *M W* 1014 scilicet] *supplevi*:
secundum *E* 1019 esset² *corr. E sup. lin. ex* esse 1025 deperit *corr. E ex* ceperit
1032 quod *E F M*: *om. W*: forte quia *legend.*

¹³⁷ Augustine, *De Gen.* 1.17 (CSEL 28:24.25-25.2); not to the letter.

[12.9] E contrario vero Hieronymus insinuat hanc esse potentiam a Deo creatam et datam, sic inquires epistula 87: "Volens Deus /302va/ rationabilem
 1035 creaturam voluntarii boni munere et liberi arbitrii potestate donare utriusque partis possibilitatem homini inserendo, proprium eius fecit, <esse> quod velit, ut boni ac mali capax naturaliter utrumque posset et ad alterutrum voluntatem deflecteret. Neque enim aliter spontaneum poterat habere bonum, nisi ea <creatura> quae etiam malum habere potuisset. Utrumque
 1040 nos posse voluit optimus Creator, sed unum facere, bonum scilicet quod imperavit; malique facultatem ad hoc tantum dedit, ut voluntatem eius ex nostra voluntate faceremus. Quod cum ita sit, hoc quoque ipsum, quod etiam mala facere possumus, bonum est—bonum, inquam, quia boni partem meliorem facit. Facit enim ipsam voluntariam sui iuris, non necessitate
 1045 devinctam sed iudicio liberam."¹³⁸

[12.10] Item, Bernardus dicit: "Soli inter animantia datum est homini potuisse peccare ob praerogativam liberi arbitrii. Datum est autem non ut perinde peccaret, sed ut gloriosior appareret si non peccaret, cum peccare potuisset."¹³⁹ Et post: "Non aliunde liberum nisi ex libertate arbitrii, de qua
 1050 utique inerat ei possibilitas peccandi."¹⁴⁰ Et item idem: "Nam si peccavit ex posse quod accepit, non tamen quia potuit, sed quia voluit."¹⁴¹ Ad haec faciunt illa philosophi: Potestates rationabiles valent opposita, et quod peccant qui ponunt potentiam in genere malorum.¹⁴²

[12.11] Contra hoc autem videtur esse, scilicet quod peccare defluere
 1055 et deficere est. Unde potestas peccandi defectibilitas et fluxibilitas est et corruptibilitas est, quae videntur poni sub genere malorum, quia horum

1040 nos] *supplevi*: nosse ut vid. E unum corr. E in marg. ex unde 1048 perinde
 F W: per vim E: prout inde M peccare in marg. E 1049 Non add. E sup. lin.
 aliunde E: profecto addend.

¹³⁸ The reference here is to Pelagius's *Epistula ad Demetriadem* 3 (PL 30:17D-18B [2d ed., 18C-19A]), which was wrongly included among the works of Jerome.

¹³⁹ Bernard of Clairvaux, *De grat. et lib. arb.* 7.22 (ed. Leclercq and Rochais, 182.24-27).

¹⁴⁰ Ibid. (183.2-4).

¹⁴¹ Ibid. (183.5-6).

¹⁴² Although this passage has an Aristotelian ring to it, Grosseteste's reference to a *philosophus* perhaps refers not to Aristotle but to Boethius, who was sometimes referred to as *philosophus* before the term was commonly used for Aristotle. (See for example, Peter Lombard, 2 *Sent.* 25.1.2, and the references to Boethius as *philosophus* in extracts from Pierre de Capoue's *Glossa super sententias* and Stephen Langton's *Quaestiones*, edited in Odon Lottin, *Psychologie et morale aux xii^e et xiii^e siècles*, 6 vols. [Gembloux, 1942-60], 1:56 and 1:59 respectively.) In any case, the first claim is of Aristotelian genesis, deriving from *De interpretatione* 13: "Ergo secundum rationem potestates ipsae eadem plurimorum etiam contrariorum sunt" (22b39-23a1; ed. Minio-Paluello, 32.14-16); the second I have not located. If Grosseteste has Boethius in mind, he is in all likelihood referring to his commentaries on the *logica vetus*.

opposita ponantur sub genere bonorum.} Si enim omne fluxibile et corruptibile inquantum huiusmodi <non> est ponendum in genere bonorum, necesse <est> illud poni in genere malorum. An forte potestas peccandi
 1060 multipliciter dicitur secundum quod consuevit distingui potentia {remotior et propinquior. Ipsa namque voluntas creata libera est potestas ad utrumque—ipsa inquam in se considerata sine inclinatione ad bonum et ad malum, considerata scilicet hoc quod ipsa est ex sola creatione. Et haec est potentia prima remota, et de hac loquuntur Hieronymus et Bernardus.
 1065 Dicitur vero potentia peccandi propinquior ipsa voluntas sua sponte iam inclinata actu vel habitu deorsum et ad malum. Et haec potentia, quia est ad inferius declinatio, ex solo defectu rationalis creaturae est, ut dicit Augustinus. Et haec non est vere potentia sed magis impotentia.}

Capitulum 13

1070 [13.1] {Item, fatum, si est, destruit liberum arbitrium. Verumtamen sciendum quod fatum dupliciter dicitur, uno modo secundum quod dicit Boethius in libro *Consolationis*, 4, fatum esse idem cum providentia. Tamen secundum diversas considerationes dicitur fatum et providentia, quia “providentia est divina ratio in summo omnium principe constituta quae cuncta
 1075 disponit, fatum vero est inhaerens rebus mobilibus dispositio per quam providentia suis quaeque nectit ordinibus. Providentia namque cuncta pariter, quamvis infinita, quamvis diversa, complectetur; fatum singula digerit in motum locis, formis ac temporibus distributa, ut haec temporalis ordinis explicatio in divinae mentis adunata prospectu providentia sit, eadem
 1080 vero adunatio digesta atque explicata temporibus fatum vocetur. Quae licet diversa sint, alterutrum pendet ex altero. Ordo namque fatalis ex providentiae simplicitate /302vb/ procedit.”¹⁴³ Et paulo post: “Manifestum est immutabilem simplicemque gerendarum formam rerum esse providentiam; fatum vero eorum quae divina simplicitas gerenda disposuit, mobilem nexum atque
 1085 ordinem temporalem.”¹⁴⁴

[13.2] Cicero vero *De divinatione*, libro primo, ait: “Fatum appello quod Graeci imarmenen, id est, ordinem seriemque causarum, cum causa causam ex se gignat. Ea est ex Dei parte fluens veritas sempiterna.”¹⁴⁵ Ex quo

1057 bonorum *FM*: bo° *EW* 1058 bonorum] *supplevi*: bono *E* 1059 malorum] *supplevi*: malo *E* 1064 loquuntur *F* ut *vid.* *E*: loquitur *MW* 1066 est *in marg.* *E* 1074 ratio *in marg.* *E* 1079 prospectu *FMW*: prospectum *E* 1082-83 immutabilem *EFMW*: immobilem *legend.*

¹⁴³ Boethius, *De consol. philos.* 4.6 (CCL 94:79.27-39).

¹⁴⁴ Ibid. (80.48-52).

¹⁴⁵ Cicero, *De divinatione* 1.55 (ed. Giomini, 72.2-5): “Fatum autem id appello, quod

intelligitur quod fatum sit non id quod superstitiose, sed id quod physice
1090 dicitur causa aeterna rerum.

[13.3] Secundum itaque iam dictam fati acceptionem, manifestum est
fatum esse et illud, sicut divinam providentiam, libero arbitrio non repugnare.
Verba enim fati dicunt exitum rerum in esse a divina voluntate. Et sicut
divina providentia scit multa contingenter et non necessario sed ex libertate
1095 voluntatis futura—et ideo providentia non destruit libertatem arbitrii vel
contingentiam futurorum—ita divina voluntas et ordinatio ordinat et vult
multa contingenter et non necessario sed ex voluntatis libertate futura, et
ideo fatum hoc modo dictum non solum non destruit, sed magis ponit
multorum esse contingens et esse liberi arbitrii.

1100 [13.4] Intelligunt autem aliter fatum, scilicet “quod flecti nequit,”¹⁴⁶ sicut
Cicero testatur *De divinatione*, libro 2; et ut in eodem dicit: “Anile sane
et plenum superstitionis fati nomen ipsum.”¹⁴⁷ Secundum hoc namque quod
communiter intelligitur nomen fati, fatum est necessitas omnium inferiorum
ex ordine et conversione siderum, nec solum secundum communem fati
1105 intellectum est necessitas eorum quae praeter liberum arbitrium fiunt, sed
etiam omnium quae ex libero nostro geruntur arbitrio. Ipsa quoque opera
omnia nostra ex libero arbitrio facta vel facienda, astrologi ex constella-
tionibus nituntur praedicere.¹⁴⁸ Si itaque fatum secundum hunc intellectum
aliquid esset, manifestum esset quod omnia ex necessitate contingerent et
1110 nihil ex arbitrii libertate. Quod etiam insinuat Augustinus *Super Psalmum*
31, dicens: “Describunt de stellis mores humanos. Cum libero arbitrio me
creavit Deus; si peccavi, ego peccavi, ut ita pronuntiem iniquitatem meam
Domino, sed adversum me, non adversus eum.”¹⁴⁹ Hoc idem insinuat et
versus illae poetae: “Desine fata Deum flecti sperare precando,”¹⁵⁰ quem
1115 versum, cum quodam loco introduxisset Seneca, subiungit: “Rata et fixa
sunt fata et magna atque aeterna necessitate ducuntur.”¹⁵¹

1089 non in marg. E 1091 acceptionem corr. E sup. lin. ex exceptionem 1104 nec
F M W: ut non (non in marg.) E 1109 post esset² add. E est 1111 post arbitrio
exp. E nec me in marg. E 1112 ita F M W: in marg. E: non solum legend.

Graeci εἰμαρμένην, id est ordinem seriemque causarum, cum causae causa nexa rem ex se
gignat. Ea est ex omni aeternitate fluens veritas sempiterna.”

¹⁴⁶ Cf. ibid. 2.8 (86.12-14): “Quoquo enim modo nos gesserimus, fiet tamen illud, quod
futurum est; sin autem id potest flecti, nullum est fatum.”

¹⁴⁷ Ibid. 2.7 (85.12-13).

¹⁴⁸ On Grosseteste's views on astrology, see Richard C. Dales, “Robert Grosseteste's Views
on Astrology,” *Mediaeval Studies* 29 (1967): 357-63.

¹⁴⁹ Augustine, *Enarr. in Ps.* 31.2.16 (CCL 39:237.32-36).

¹⁵⁰ Vergil, *Aeneid*, quoted in Seneca, *Epistulae morales* 77.12 (ed. Reynolds, 1:247.11).

¹⁵¹ Seneca, *Epistulae morales* 77.12 (ed. Reynolds, 1:247.12-13).

[13.5] Hoc itaque modo dictum fatum, si est, destruit liberum arbitrium. Quapropter hic esset locus ostendere fatum hoc modo dictum nihil esse. Sed quia hoc plene ostendit Augustinus in libro quinto *De civitate Dei*,¹⁵²
 1120 huic ostensioni hic supersedemus, hoc breve verbum addentes, quod anima rationalis sublimior est stellis, cuius sublimitas est immediate iungi Deo et ab eius aeterna ratione regulas recte vivendi addiscere, et secundum eas regulas, quas in aeterna veritate prospexerit, inferiorem rationem et motus cordis voluntarios digere, ut praeveniant motus voluntarii et opera rationalia
 1125 et voluntaria in corpore non per cursus et motus siderum medios, sed a summa ratione per mediam ipsius hominis /303ra/ rationem et vires animae proprias usque in suum corpus. Est itaque corpus hominis duplici motivo subiectum.¹⁵³ Cum enim pars sit huius mundi sensibilis, multas recipit mutationes et alterationes a motibus caelestibus. Suscipit quoque similiter
 1130 multas ab anima. Quod si ad oppositos actus impellant haec duo motiva, sine dubio potentior est potestas et impulsus rationabilis, maxime ad omnes actus voluntarios.

[13.6] Praeterea mens cogi non potest, maxime si bona est,¹⁵⁴ quia a mente mala cogi non potest, cum sit mens mala infirmior. Similiter nec
 1135 a corpore, cum omne corpus omni mente sit infirmius. A bona mente non cogitur, quia si par est nec potest nec vult cogere; si superior est, non vult cogere.}

Capitulum 14

[14.1] Item, posset formare opinionem in alicuius animo arbitrium non
 1140 esse liberum quia potest ei dominari peccatum. Liberum enim arbitrium peccare potest. Et si peccat, servus est peccati. Et si servus est peccati, ei dominatur peccatum. Ergo cum possit peccare, peccatum potest ei dominari. Sed si peccatum posset ei invito dominari, esset haec potestas ex parte peccati dominantis; <ergo> non haberet veram arbitrii libertatem. {Nunc vero
 1145 liberum arbitrium sui iuris est, nec nisi voluntarie se subicit peccato estque in eius potestate se non subicere peccato. Velut si esset homo potens liber in quem alius impotens nullam haberet potestatem vel dominium, posset

1119 Sed in marg. E ostendit corr. E sup. lin. ex ostendi 1122 addiscere] sup-
 plevi: addicere E 1129 mutationes FMW: motiones E 1135 post a exp. E tempore
 corpore in marg. E 1143 post dominari add. E non

¹⁵² Augustine, *De civitate Dei* 5.1-9 (CCL 47:128-140).

¹⁵³ Cf. Grosseteste, *Hexaemeron* 5.10.4 (ed. Dales and Gieben, 168).

¹⁵⁴ Cf. Augustine, *De lib. arb.* 1.72-73 (CSEL 74:21-22).

tamen ille potens sponte et nulla coactione se subdere dominio impotentis. Et ex hac potentis potestate solum posset impotens eidem dominari; 1150 nihilominus propter hoc esset ille potens liber.

[14.2] Sed ponatur quod iam se sponte subdidisset impotentioris dominio et de iugo servitutis iam initae nullo modo per se posset evadere. Numquid esset adhuc liber? Immo patet quod servus. Similiter videtur quod voluntas cum se subdidit peccato iam amisit libertatem. Cui consonat illud *Ioannis*, 1155 8: "Qui facit peccatum, servus est peccati,"¹⁵⁵ et illud *Apostoli ad Romanos*: "Cui exhibetis vos servos ad obediendum, servi eius estis, cui obedistis, sive peccati ad mortem sive obeditionis ad iustitiam."¹⁵⁶

[14.3] Sed huius solutio evidentius patere poterit cum patuerit quid sit liberum arbitrium et quot sint modi libertatis illius.¹⁵⁷}

1160

Capitulum 15

[15.1] Item, si temptatio vel timor vel vis aliqua cogit aliquem hoc aliquid facere, numquid idem fit libere? Si coactum est, quomodo liberum est? Verbi gratia, cum aliquis compellitur mentiri ne occidatur, {cum vis compellentis eum cogat ad mendacium et timor mortis, nonne invitus et coactus mentitur? 1165 Quomodo ergo voluntarie et libere? Vult namque non mentiri et non vult mentiri. Facit itaque quod non vult. Ergo facit hoc non ex voluntate; ergo non ex libero arbitrio.

[15.2] Item, qui mentitur ob timorem mortis duas habet voluntates, unam vivendi et alteram non mentiendi. Sed voluntas vivendi maior est 1170 reliqua et superat reliquam, et, ut videtur, mentiri cogit. Et ita semper voluntas cogitur; et ita non est libera.}

[15.3] An forte remanet integra voluntas non /303rb/ mentiendi, tamen voluntas vivendi, quae maior est, producit actum mentiendi. {Et mentitur non ex voluntate mentiendi nec ex voluntate non mentiendi coacta, sed 1175 mentitur ex voluntate vivendi. Actus itaque mentiendi in hoc casu ex voluntate vivendi educitur, et hoc est quod dicitur voluntatem non mentiendi

1148 *post subdere exp. E* domino dominio *in marg. E* 1150 *esset FMW: esse E*
 1152 *posset FM: bis E: iam possis W* 1154-55 *illud Ioannis 8] supplevi: Ioannis 8*
illud E 1155 *post illud exp. E ad* *post Romanos add. E sexto capitulo in marg.*
 1159 *sint F: sunt EMW* 1173 *post mentitur exp. E et* 1174 *post mentiendi¹ exp.*
E et non² in marg. E

¹⁵⁵ Jo 8:34.

¹⁵⁶ Rom 6:16.

¹⁵⁷ This is a task Grosseteste never carries out in the text found in *E*. This suggests that the first recension was longer than the text found in *E* or, at least, that Grosseteste intended to write a longer text. In the second recension Grosseteste does discuss the three kinds of freedom identified by St. Bernard in his *De grat. et lib. arb.* 3.7.

cogi, a suo scilicet actu impediri per hoc, quod voluntas fortior educit in esse actum oppositum.

- [15.4] Non potest igitur aliqua voluntas cogi ut non velit quod vult.
 1180 Sed potest cogi ut non agat quod vult, et hoc vel per fortiorem voluntatem agentem oppositum, ut in praedicto casu, vel aliis impredientibus instrumenta motiva quominus obediant voluntati imperanti. Mentitur itaque ex voluntate vivendi sive ex voluntate mentiendi-ut-vivat, cum tamen simpliciter velit non mentiri et non velit mentiri. Et secundum hoc non est verum quod omnis
 1185 actus voluntarius egreditur a voluntate eiusdem actus, quia in hoc casu actus mentiendi non egreditur ab eiusdem actus voluntate sed a voluntate alterius actus.}

Capitulum 16

- [16.1] Liberum vero arbitrium esse patet. {Alioquin enim esset omne
 1190 praeceptum cassum. Quod enim utiliter praecipitur, potest fieri et potest non fieri. Si enim necesse est fieri, incassum praecipitur, et similiter si necesse est non fieri, incassum praecipitur. Ergo si non incassum praecipitur, neque necesse est fieri neque necesse est non fieri. Sed si non necesse est fieri, potest non fieri, et si non necesse est non fieri, potest fieri. Ergo si non
 1195 incassum praecipitur, potest fieri et non fieri.

[16.2] Eodem modo si non incassum prohibetur et si non incassum consulitur ut fiat vel non fiat.

- [16.3] Item, si ex necessitate agitur aliquid, ex illo actu non est agens laudabilis. (Nisi forte et ipsa necessitas esset voluntarie assumpta et posset
 1200 ex libertate voluntatis non fuisse assumpta. At per hoc quod sic ageretur non esset necessarium sed a principio voluntarium, liberum non necessarium.) Si igitur laudabilis est agens ex actu, non est ille actus necessarius, sed potuit agens non egisse illum. Unde enim aliter laudabilis nisi quia egit bonum cum potuit illud non egisse? vel unde vituperabilis nisi quia egit malum
 1205 cum potuit illud non egisse? Seneca dicit: "Non turpiter his rebus superabuntur quae non sunt in nostra potestate."¹⁵⁸

1183 sive . . . mentiendi *in marg. E* 1185 actus² *in marg. E* 1187 *Hic est spatium de duobus lineis in E* 1191-92 et . . . praecipitur *in marg. E* 1192 neque *F W: om. M: enim add. E* 1195 non *add. E sup. lin.* 1198 *post aliquid add. E vocem illegibilem sup. lin.* 1199 laudabilis] *supplevi: laudabilem E W: laudabile FM* 1203 nisi *corr. E ex non* 1204 *post vel exp. E unum* unde *in marg. E* 1206 quae *corr. E ex quia*

¹⁵⁸ I have not located this passage.

[16.4] Item, si necessario agit aliquis hoc et numquam fuit in eius potestate idem non agere, non iuste poterit puniri pro illo. Ergo si iuste punitur pro aliquo actu, potuit illum non egisse; similiter si iuste praemiatur.

1210 [16.5] Item, cur erubescemus de aliquo nisi possemus idem factum cavisse? Nam motus pudendos membrorum genitalium cavisse potuimus in primo parente.¹⁵⁹

[16.6] Item, cur conscium et testem mali facti fugimus, nisi quia iure redargui possumus, cum in nostra sit potestate idem malum non fecisse?

1215 Si enim necessarium esset fieri, iniusta esset redargutio et cassa omnis correptio.} Ex eo igitur quod conscium et testem fugimus, sequitur quod iure super malo facto redargui possumus. Sed si iusta est redargutio liberum fuit hoc non fecisse. Igitur ex fuga conscii in malo sequitur liberum arbitrium esse. /303va/ Ex eadem causa, scilicet quia super malo facto iure redargui
1220 possumus, et redargui odimus, est quod occultari in malis volumus et propalari nolumus.

[16.7] {Item, unde remordet et accusat conscientia super aliquo nisi quia habuit in potestate idem non egisse?

[16.8] Item, unde in bonis actibus laeta est mens constans, intrepida
1225 et palam cupit fieri nisi quia cum in potestate sua habuit eadem bona non fecisse, sine coactione tamen et sine necessitate eadem fecit?}

[16.9] {Item, inde sequitur liberum arbitrium esse, quia homo facit malum ad quod non cogitur a Deo, quia Deus summe bonus, neque a scientia, nec ab alia mente bona, nec potest cogi a mente mala vel corpore,
1230 cum sint infirmiora. Unde non facit malum nisi a voluntate propria.}

[16.10] {Arguunt itaque liberum arbitrium esse: praeceptum, prohibitio, consilium, laus et vituperium, poena et praemium, redargutio, correptio, rubor de malo et confusio, conscii fuga, appetitus occultationis, timor et odium propalationis, in malo remordens et accusans conscientia, in bono
1235 mens laeta, constans et intrepida manifestari quodam impulsu naturali desiderans. Omnis itaque scripturae auctoritas quae praecepit vel prohibet, consulit, laudat, vituperat, minatur poenam, promittit praemium, redarguit, corripit, probat liberum arbitrium esse.}

1207 *post agit exp. E agit* 1211 *Nam ... potuimus in marg. E, sed post nam del. modus p* 1217 *post redargutio exp. E liber facit* 1217-18 *liberum fuit in marg. E* 1221 *propalari] supplevi: probari E* 1225 *quia] supplevi: quod EFW: pro M* 1230 *sint FM: sunt EW* 1233 *post et¹ exp. E confessio* *confusio in marg. E* 1234 *remordens corr. E sup. lin. ex remordans*

¹⁵⁹ Cf. Hexaameron 8.21.1 (ed. Dales and Gieben, 246). Grosseteste there cites Pseudo-Augustine's *Hypomnesticon* 4.1 (PL 45:1639), and Augustine's *De nuptiis et concupiscentia* 1 (CSEL 42).

[16.11] {Licet itaque tota scriptura repleta sit auctoritatibus liberum
 1240 arbitrium esse declarantibus, ne magis inopes faciat haec copia volentes
 auctoritatibus eiusdem esse probare, tamen aliquas hic interseruimus quibus
 a parte eiusdem esse probetur.

[16.12] Scribitur namque in *Ecclesiastico*, 15: "Deus ab initio fecit
 hominem et reliquit eum in manu consilii sui. Adiecit mandata et praecepta;
 1245 si volueris mandata, conservabunt te et in perpetuum fidem placitam facere.
 Apposuit tibi aquam et ignem, ad quod velis porrigere manum tuam. Ante
 hominem vita et mors, bonum et malum: quod placuerit ei, dabitur illi."¹⁶⁰

[16.13] Item, eodem, 17: "Dedit ei potestatem eorum quae sunt super
 terram. Posuit timorem illius super omnem carnem et dominatus est
 1250 bestiarum et volucrum. Creavit ex ipso adiutorium simile ipsi, consilium
 et linguam, et oculos et aures, et cor dedit excogitandi et disciplina intellectus
 replevit illos, et cetera."¹⁶¹

[16.14] Item, *Deuteronium*, 31: "Testes invoco hodie caelum et terram,
 quod proposuerim vobis vitam et mortem, bonum et malum, benedictionem
 1255 et maledictionem. Elige ergo vitam."¹⁶²

[16.15] Item, *Genesis*, 49, littera quam ponit Hieronymus: "Symeon et
 Levi fratres consummaverunt iniquitatem suam ex voluntate sua."¹⁶³

[16.16] Item, *Isaias*: "Si volueritis et audieritis me, bona terrae comedetis.
 Si autem nolueritis neque audieritis me, gladius devorabit vos."¹⁶⁴

1260 [16.17] Item, idem: "Omnes vos occisione decidistis, quia vocavi vos et
 non exaudistis; locutus sum et neglexistis; fecistis malum ante conspectum
 meum et quae nolebam eligistis."¹⁶⁵

[16.18] Ipse quoque Dominus in *Evangelio*: "Ierusalem, Ierusalem, quae
 occidis prophetas et lapides eos, qui ad te missi sunt, quoties volui congregare
 1265 filios /303vb/ tuos, quemadmodum gallina congregat pullos sub alas, et
 noluisti."¹⁶⁶

[16.19] Ex his auctoribus sic infert Hieronymus in epistula quadam ad
 Demetriadem virginem: "Ubi velle videmus et nolle et eligere et refutare,

1240 *post* declarantibus *exp.* *E* ut ne in *marg.* *E* 1251 disciplina *F M*: disciplinam
E: om. *W* 1265 filios *F*: vox illegibilis *M*: om. *W*: pullos *E* 1267 auctoribus *corr.*
E ex auctoritatibus

¹⁶⁰ Eccli 15:14-18.

¹⁶¹ Eccli 17:3-5.

¹⁶² Deut 30:19.

¹⁶³ Pelagius, *Epistula ad Demetriadem* 7 (PL 30:22B [2d ed., 23C]). Cf. Jerome, *Liber hebraicarum quaestionum in Genesim* 49, verses 5 and 6 (PL 23:1005 [2d ed., 1056]).

¹⁶⁴ Is 1:19 (not to the letter).

¹⁶⁵ Is 65:12 (not to the letter).

¹⁶⁶ Mt 23:37.

- ibi non vis naturae sed libertas <intelligitur> voluntatis. Plena sunt utriusque
 1270 Testamenti volumina <huiusmodi testimoniis>, quibus tam bonum omne
 quam malum voluntarium semper ascribitur.”¹⁶⁷ Et post: “Neque nos ita
 defendimus naturae malum, vere bonum ut eam dicamus non posse facere,
 quam utique boni ac mali capacem etiam profiteamur. Sed ab hac tantummodo
 1275 iniuria vindicamus, nec eius vitio ad malum videamur impelli, qui nec bonum
 sine voluntate facimus nec malum, et quibus liberum est unum semper de
 duobus facere, cum semper utrumque possumus. Unde enim alii iudicaturi
 sunt, alii iudicandi, nisi quod in eadem natura dispar voluntas est, et quia
 cum omnes idem possimus, diversa faciamus? Itaque ut clarius lucere possit,
 aliqua exempla sunt proferenda. Adam de paradiso eicitur, Enoch e mundo
 1280 rapitur. In utroque Dominus libertatem arbitrii ostendit. Ut enim placere
 potuit ille qui deliquit, ita potuit peccare iste qui placuit. Non enim a iusto
 Deo aut ille puniri meruisset aut hic eligi nisi uterque utrumque potuisset.
 Hoc et de Cain et Abel fratribus; hoc etiam de Iacob et Esau geminis
 intelligendum est. Ac sciendum solam voluntatis causam esse quod in eadem
 1285 natura merita diversa sunt.”¹⁶⁸

[16.20] Item, Augustinus in libro *De definitione rectae fidei*: “Libertati
 arbitrii sui commissus est homo statim in prima mundi conditione. Postquam
 vero cecidit; vere bonum perdidit pariter et vigorem arbitrii, non tamen
 electionem. Manet itaque ad quaerendam salutem arbitrii libertas, id est
 1290 rationalis voluntas.”¹⁶⁹

[16.21] Item, Ioannes Chrysostomus: “A nullo aufertur possibilitas
 credendi in Dei Filium et efficiendi Dei Filium. Hoc enim <in> arbitrio
 hominis et cooperatione gratiae constitutum est.”¹⁷⁰

1269 *post Plena exp. E ut* 1272 *naturae malum in marg. E* 1273 *post etiam*
exp. E proferemur *profitemur in marg. E* 1275 *de add. E sup. lin.* 1282 *nisi*
corr. E ex ut 1286 *definitione M: diffi° E: definitionibus F W* 1292 *efficiendi*
supplevi: essendi legend.

¹⁶⁷ Pelagius, *Epistula ad Demetriadem* 7 (PL 30:22C-D [2d ed., 23D-24A]).

¹⁶⁸ Ibid. 8 (PL 30:22D-23A [2d ed., 24A-B]).

¹⁶⁹ The reference here is to Gennadius of Marseilles, *Liber ecclesiasticorum dogmatum* 20 (ed. Turner, 93.20.1-7). Turner's text reads as follows: “Libertati arbitrii sui commissus est homo statim prima conditione, ut sola vigilantia mentis adnitente etiam praecepti custodia perseveraret, si vellet, in id quod creatus fuerat. postquam vero seductione serpentis per Evam cecidit a naturae bono, perdidit pariter [et] vigorem arbitrii, non tamen electionem; ne non esset suum quod emendaret peccatum, nec merito indulgeretur quod non arbitrio diluisset. manet [ergo] ad salutem arbitrii libertas, id est rationabilis voluntas.” For the text and a discussion of the manuscript tradition and attribution of this treatise to writers such as Augustine and Isidore of Seville, as well as to Gennadius, see the two papers by C. H. Turner, “The *Liber Ecclesiasticorum Dogmatum* Attributed to Gennadius,” *The Journal of Theological Studies* 7 (1905): 78-99; and “The *Liber Ecclesiasticorum Dogmatum*: Supplenda to J. T. S. vii 78-99,” *The Journal of Theological Studies* 8 (1906): 103-14.

¹⁷⁰ Eriugena, *Homilies* (ed. Jeaneau, 300.13-15).

[16.22] Item, Augustinus *Super Ioannem*, 1, homilia 3: "De voluntate
1295 quisque sua aut Antichristus aut in Christo est."¹⁷¹

[16.23] Item, idem, eodem hom., 4: "Et omnis qui habet spem in ipso, castificat semetipsum, sicut et ipse castus est. Videte quemadmodum non abstulit liberum arbitrium, ut diceret 'castificat semetipsum.' Quis nos castificat nisi Deus? Sed Deus te nolentem non castificat. Ergo quod adiungis
1300 voluntatem tuam Deo, castificas te ipsum, castificas te non de te sed de illo qui habitat in te."¹⁷²

[16.24] Item, Augustinus: "Quomodo secundum opera sua unicuique redderetur in die iudicii, nisi liberum arbitrium esset?"¹⁷³

[16.25] Bernardus quoque dicit: "Sola voluntas, quoniam pro sui ingenta
1305 libertate aut dissentire sibi, aut praeter se in aliquo consentire, nulla vi, nulla cogitur necessitate, non immerito iustam vel iniustam, beatitudine sine miseria dignam ac capacem creaturam constituit, prout scilicet iustitiae iniustitiaeve consenserit."¹⁷⁴

[16.26] Huiusmodi testimonia sanctorum scriptorum copiosissima suppe-
1310 tunt. Sed ne prolixitas pariat fastidium plurium testificationi supersedemus.

Capitulum 17

[17.1] Cum itaque tam ratione fixa quam auctoritate firma constet
/304ra/ liberum arbitrium esse, restat ut consequenter quaeretur quid sit.

[17.2] Hanc tamen investigationem praecedet altera, scilicet an liberum
1315 arbitrium dicatur univoce de homine et de angelo bono et malo et Deo.} Univoce enim videtur dici secundum Anselmum,¹⁷⁵ qui unam et communem assignat liberi arbitrii definitionem, secundum quod dicitur de Deo et de homine et angelo, cum univocum sit cuius nomen commune et secundum nomen ratio substantiae eadem. Videtur quoque univoce dici de his, quia
1320 dictum de his recipit comparisonem secundum magis et minus vel secundum aequae, quod patebit ex auctoritatibus inferius dicendis.

[17.3] {Item, si ratio et voluntas in his dicitur univoce, tunc similiter liberum arbitrium, quia liberum arbitrium nihil aliud est quam rationalis voluntas.

1299 nolentem] *supplevi*: nolentes *E* 1319 quoque *add. E sup. lin.* 1323 *post*
liberum² *exp. E arbu*

¹⁷¹ Augustine, *In epistolam Iohannis ad Parthos* 3.2.5 (PL 35:2000).

¹⁷² Ibid. 4.2.7 (2009).

¹⁷³ Pseudo-Augustine, *Hypomnesticon* 3.10.18 (PL 45:1631).

¹⁷⁴ Bernard of Clairvaux, *De grat. et lib. arb.* 3.6 (ed. Leclercq and Rochais, 170.5-8).

¹⁷⁵ Anselm, *De libertate arbitrii* 1 (ed. Schmitt, 208.3-12).

1325 [17.4] Quod vero liberum arbitrium non dicatur univoce et de creatura et Creatore patet sic. Arbitrii libertas in Creatore substantia est quia divinitas est. In creatura qualitas est et divinitas non est. Ergo non univoce dicitur de his.

[17.5] Item, in nullo communicant Creator et creatura. Univoca autem
1330 in aliquo communicant. Igitur Creator et creatura in nullo univocantur.

[17.6] Item, si univocaretur Deus cum aliquo in aliquo dicto non secundum relativum, oporteret Deum esse compositum et non simplicem vel ipsum esse partem substantiae alterius vel qualitatem vel quantitatem alterius.

1335 [17.7] Item, liberum arbitrium dictum de creatura continetur sub genere praedicamentali; dictum vero de Deo sub nullo genere praedicamentali continetur. Ergo non univoce de illis dicitur.}

[17.8] {Concedimus autem quod nihil univoce dicitur de creatura et Creatore, sed tamen creatura rationalis ita propinqua est vestigium et simili-
1340 tudo et imago¹⁷⁶ sui Creatoris, quod in his secundum quae est ita propinquum et assimilatum vestigium, meretur etiam communicare et nomen, non quidem univoce sed propinqua, imitatoria similitudine; sic et nominis definitionem habet unam non univoce sed propinqua, imitatoria similitudine. Est quoque similitudo tam vicine imitatoria, quod intellectus unico aspectu
1345 contueri potest exemplar in exemplato et e contrario <sicut imaginem sigilli in cera ab illo sigillo impressa et e contrario>. Et intellectui sic contemplanti, assignandum est unum nomen et una definitio liberi arbitrii in Creatore et creatura, quia unico et non diviso aspectu contuetur haec in creatura et Creatore propter vicinae imitationis similitudinem. Quae tamen in se divisa
1350 sunt secundum essentiarum diversitatem, quam diversitatem, cum contuetur intellectus, dabit differentes definitiones.¹⁷⁷

1326 sic corr. *E sup. lin. ex si* 1326-27 quia . . . est¹ in marg. *E* 1341 assimilatum] *supplevi*: assimilatum *E* 1345-46 <sicut . . . contrario> add. *FMW* (sed *W* habet impressam pro impressa) 1347 post arbitrii exp. *E* vel 1348 et¹ in marg. *E* 1349 tamen corr. *E sup. lin. ex non* 1350 quam diversitatem *FMW*: <quam (?)> essentiarum diversitatem in marg. *E*

¹⁷⁶ For this tripartite distinction, see Peter Lombard, 1 *Sent.* 3.1 and 2. Bonaventure also employs it in his *Quaestiones disputate de scientia Christi*, q. 4 (ed. Collegium S. Bonaventurae, 24), writing of the creature that "in quantum *vestigium* comparatur ad Deum ut ad *principium*; in quantum *imago*, comparatur ad Deum ut ad *obiectum*; sed in quantum *similitudo*, comparatur ad Deum ut ad *donum infusum*."

¹⁷⁷ The notion of the rational creature as a *propinqua, imitatoria similitudo* of God is discussed at greater length in the *Hexameron* 8.1-12 (ed. Dales and Gieben, 217-36). See also J. T. Muckle's article, "The Hexameron of Robert Grosseteste: The First Twelve Chapters of Part Seven," *Mediaeval Studies* 6 (1944): 151-74; and Grosseteste's *De decem mandatis* 1.19 (ed. Dales and King, 16).

- [17.9] Anselmus ergo priorem modum sequens, unam investigavit et invenit definitionem supradicto modo communem in Creatore et creatura. Alii vero secundum modum sequentes, differenter definierunt liberum arbitrium in creatura et Creatore, vel etiam liberum arbitrium abnegare videntur a Creatore.¹⁷⁸ Unde Hieronymus: "Cetera cum sint liberi arbitrii in utramque partem flecti possunt."¹⁷⁹ Quae autem comparantur in signato nominis per parilitatem univoca sunt. Sed non oportet ut sint univoca quae comparari possunt in aliquo signato per consequens.}
- 1355 [17.10] Dicitur autem libertas arbitrii alia liberior non quia idem natura hic et ibi sit intensior et maior, sed quia est altera hic et altera ibi, hic sit alicui uni propinquior vel alicui uni remotior.
- [17.11] Imprimis itaque secundum modum Anselmi incedendo quaerenda est una definitio liberi /304rb/ arbitrii in creatura rationali et Deo.
- 1365 [17.12] Dicimus itaque quod potestas peccandi secludenda est a ratione liberi arbitrii, quia potestas peccandi neque est in angelis confirmatis neque in Deo, in quibus tamen est summa arbitrii libertas. Ergo potestas peccandi non est de quidditate liberi arbitrii. {Licet enim non vere dicatur univoce liberum arbitrium de his, sed propinqua, imitatoria similitudine, sequitur
- 1370 tamen quod quicquid est de quidditate liberi arbitrii in uno sit et in alio proportionaliter dictum, quia in his quae habent propinquissimam, imitatoriam similitudinem, necesse est quod quicquid est in uno propinqua similitudine imitatoria sit in reliquo, ex qua similitudine mereatur eiusdem nominationis similitudinem.}

1354 sequentes *corr. E sup. lin. ex sequens* 1355 in . . . arbitrium in *marg. E*
 1357 comparantur *FW M: comparatur E* 1358 parilitatem] *supplevi: pili^e E: paritatem*
sive parilitatem FW: om. M post parilitatem exp. E aequivoca univoca in marg.
E 1361 hic!] haec supplevi: E 1365 post peccandi exp. E seducenda secludenda
in marg. E

¹⁷⁸ The reference here seems to be to Peter Lombard in 2 *Sent.* 25.1. Lombard says that the definition of free choice as free *ad utrumlibet* cannot apply to God as it only has application to those "who can change their will and turn it to contraries," which he proceeds to gloss as those who can choose good and evil. He is careful to add, however, that God and the confirmed angels are free in another sense, their freedom being a matter of their ability to seek or choose what has been decreed by reason without compulsion or necessity (see 2 *Sent.* 25.2). It may be noted that the refusal to ascribe free choice as a power *ad utrumlibet* to God and the confirmed angels may rest on holding two views: (1) that a power *ad utrumlibet* involves the agent's changeability, and (2) the view that the contraries here must be good and evil. Grosseteste rejects both of these assumptions. He has argued at length in the earlier part of the treatise that God has powers *ab aeterno* even though he is unchangeable, and he brings this view to bear on the current issue in 18.15; in 18.17-18 he argues that a power *ad utrumlibet* need not be a power to choose good and evil as such, but merely a power to choose between opposites considered in themselves.

¹⁷⁹ Jerome, *Epistula 21 ad Damasum* 40 (CSEL 54:139.22-140.4). This passage is also quoted in Peter Lombard's discussion of free choice in the *Sententiae*.

1375 [17.13] Quod autem libertas arbitrii sit in Deo et angelis et etiam {liberior
quam in homine patet, quia omne habens bonum voluntarium quod non
potest amittere—maxime cum ipsum non posse amittere voluntarium
sit—liberius est quam habens illud cum possibilitate amittendi—dico quod
liberius quia a servitute remotius. Bona autem voluntaria habent Deus,
1380 angelus, homo, sed hi non potentes amittere, iste vero potens amittere quod
habet, et utrumque voluntarium, scilicet posse amittere et non posse amittere.
Habent ergo Deus et angelus liberius arbitrium quam homo.}

[17.14] Boethius quoque in libro 5 *Consolationis* idem probat his verbis:
“Neque enim fuerit ulla rationalis natura quin eidem libertas adsit arbitrii.
1385 Nam quod ratione uti naturaliter potest id habet iudicium quo quidque
discernat. Per se ergo fugienda optandaque dinoscet. Quod vero quis
optandum esse iudicat petit, refugit vero quod existimat esse fugiendum.
Quare quibus inest ratio etiam inest volendi nolendique libertas. Sed hanc
non <in> omnibus aequam esse constituo. Nam supernis divinisque substantiis
1390 est et pernicious iudicium et incorrupta voluntas et efficax optator praesto
potestas est. Humanas vero animas liberiores quidem <esse> necesse est,
cum se in mentis divinae speculatione conservant, minus vero cum dilabuntur
ad corpora, minus<que> etiam cum terrenis artubus colligantur. Extrema
vero est servitus cum vitiis deditae rationes a propria ratione ceciderunt.
1395 Nam ubi oculos a summae luce veritatis ad inferiora et tenebrosa deiecerint
maximeque inscitiae nube caligant, perniciosius turbantur affectibus, quibus
accedendo consentiendoque quam invexire sibi adiuvant servitutem et sunt
quodammodo propria libertate captivae.”¹⁸⁰ Ex his itaque verbis Boethii
patet omnem naturam rationalem liberum habere arbitrium.

1380 potentes *FMW*: potentis *E* 1387 esse¹ *in marg. E* 1395 deiecerint *corr.*
E ex deiecerunt 1396 post maximeque *exp. E* etiam et vocem illegibilem inscitiae
in marg. E 1397 post accedendo *exp. E* conservando consentiendo *in marg. E*

¹⁸⁰ Boethius, *De consol. philos.* 5.2 (CCL 94:90.5-23). The text Grosseteste provides is rather corrupt. Boethius's text is as follows: “Neque enim fuerit ulla rationalis natura quin eidem libertas adsit arbitrii. Nam quod ratione uti naturaliter potest id habet iudicium quo quidque discernat; per se igitur fugienda optandave dinoscit. Quod vero quis optandum esse iudicat petit, refugit vero quod aestimat esse fugiendum. Quare quibus in ipsis inest ratio inest etiam volendi nolendique libertas, sed hanc non in omnibus aequam esse constituto. Nam supernis divinisque substantiis et perspicax iudicium et incorrupta voluntas et efficax optatorum praesto est potestas. Humanas vero animas liberiores quidem esse necesse est cum se in mentis divinae speculatione conservant, minus vero cum dilabuntur ad corpora, minusque etiam cum terrenis artubus colligantur; extrema vero est servitus cum vitiis deditae rationis propriae possessione ceciderunt. Nam ubi oculos a summae luce veritatis ad inferiora et tenebrosa deiecerint, mox inscitiae nube caligant, perniciosius turbantur affectibus, quibus accedendo consentiendoque quam invexere sibi adiuvant servitutem et sunt quodam modo propria libertate captivae.”

1400 [17.15] {Potest quoque sic breviter contexi huius ratiocinatio. Ubi est
ratio est boni malique discretio. Sed cassa esset discretio nisi esset potestas
libera eligendi bonum vitandique malum. Sed haec libera potestas liberum
est arbitrium. Ergo omnis rationalis natura habet liberum arbitrium.
Discretionis enim boni a malo finis non posset esse tantum alterius necessaria
1405 assumptio, sed posset intelligi esse finis cognitionis solum illius quod
assumitur, non discretionis oppositi ab opposito. Huius enim solius necessaria
assumptio posset /304va/ intelligi esse finis cognitionis eiusdem solius sed
non discretionis huius ab eiusdem opposito. Habet itaque omnis rationalis
natura liberum arbitrium.}

1410 *Capitulum 18*

[18.1] Sed in angelo confirmato et Deo non est potestas peccandi, ut
dictum est. Ergo potestas peccandi non est de quidditate liberi arbitrii.

[18.2] {Item, posse peccare adveniens minuit libertatem arbitrii; absens
auget.¹⁸¹ Ergo non est essenziale libero arbitrio, quia nullius essentialis
1415 absentia auget illud cui est essentialis aut minuit praesentia. Libertas autem
arbitrii libera est non generaliter ad consequendum quod vult, sed ad
volendum quod debet velle. Si enim conditum est arbitrium liberum non
potens velle quod debet, non est ei imputandum si non velit quod debet.
Atqui hoc recte illi imputatur. Ergo non est conditum non potens velle quod
1420 debet. Ergo est conditum potens velle quod debet.

[18.3] Item, si conditum esset non potens velle quod deberet, idem
deberet et non deberet. Ponatur enim debere A et non posse A. Sed quicquid
non potest—nisi illud non possit suo vitio—non debet. Quod autem non
potest ex sua prima conditione non est suum vitium quod illud non potest.
1425 Ergo quod in sua prima conditione non potest non debet. Non ergo debet
A et debet A, quod est impossibile.

[18.4] “In sua autem conditione prima” dixi propter nos, qui cum
nascimur non possumus quod debemus. Sed illud non posse non est nobis
a nostra prima conditione, immo ab eo quod tota natura humana peccavit
1430 et corrupta est in Adam peccante.

[18.5] Item, “generaliter” dixi propter libertatem voluntatis Dei, quae
libera est et ad volendum quod debet et ad consequendum quod vult.} Non

1405 esse *F M W*: est *E* 1418 potens *W*: potest *E*: om. *F* si *F W*: sed *E*
1419 potens in marg. *E* 1420 Ergo . . . debet in marg. *E* 1421 si add. *E* sup. lin.

¹⁸¹ Cf. Anselm, *De libertate arbitrii* I (ed. Schmitt, 209.4-5).

est libera ad efficiendum in se rectitudinem nec sumendum vel resumendum non oblatum, nec ad non replendum et replendum oblatum, quia haec non
 1435 est in Deo; ergo solum libera ad servandam, si habet.

[18.6] {Esse autem unumquodque sicut debet est recte esse. Igitur velle quod debet est recte velle. Ergo si est liberum et potens ad velle quod debet, est liberum et potens ad recte vel rectum velle et ad voluntatis rectitudinem; sed non est potens et liberum aliquid ad per se consequendum voluntatis
 1440 rectitudinem antequam habuerit illam, nec etiam ad recipiendum ab extrinseco datore antequam receperit. Ergo haec libertas et potestas solum est servandi rectitudinem voluntatis acceptam vel existentem.

[18.7] Quod autem non debito fine agitur, non usquam rectum est, nec sicut esse debet. Ergo potens et liberum ad volendum undique quod debet,
 1445 non solum est potens servare rectum in voluntate propter aliquid sed propter ipsam rectitudinem. Ergo "liberum arbitrium est potestas servandi rectitudinem voluntatis propter ipsam rectitudinem."¹⁸²

[18.8] Haec autem potestas servandi voluntatis rectitudinem est in angelo malo, qui numquam voluntatis rectitudinem habuerit, et in homine, qui
 1450 aliquando habitam amisit. Non enim intelligendum est quod haec potestas sit solum servandi illam rectitudinem quam actu habet, sed servandi rectitudinem simul cum eam habet.}

[18.9] {Secundum hunc modum Anselmi non videtur ipsa flexibilitas vel vertibilitas voluntatis ad utrumque esse de quidditate liberi arbitrii, sed solum
 1455 ipsa potestas standi in veritate sive rectitudine et non decidendi ab ea vel deser- /304vb/ endi eam si habita est. In hoc videtur cogere eius ratiocinatio. Si enim vertibilitas ad utrumque est potestas benefaciendi et peccandi, in Deo autem et in angelis confirmatis non est potestas peccandi, in Deo et in angelis non est ad utrumque vertibilitas, sed est in illis arbitrii libertas.}
 1460 Ergo haec vertibilitas non est de arbitrii liberi quidditate.

[18.10] {Item, sicut posse mori vel necesse mori non est de quidditate hominis, quia aliquando habebit necessitatem non moriendi, <et> idem necesse non mori non est de eiusdem quidditate, quia nunc habet posse et necesse mori, sic vertibilitas vel flexibilitas ad bonum et malum in homine

1437-38 ad . . . potens² in marg. E 1440 post ad exp. E repudiendum recipiendum
 in marg. E 1441 post potestas exp. E est 1446 post rectitudinem¹ exp. E haec
 autem potestas servandi 1449 in add. E sup. lin. 1451 servandi² F W: vandi E
 1452 simul F W: si vel E 1456 eius in marg. E 1458 in¹ add. E sup. lin. 1459 in²
 add. E sup. lin. 1462 non F W: om. E 1462-63 idem . . . non¹ F (non corr. ex
 nond) M: item . . . nondum E: idem non mori necessario non W

¹⁸² This is Anselm's definition of free choice. See Anselm, *De libertate arbitrii* 3 (ed. Schmitt, 211-213; for the definition see 212.19-20).

1465 non erit de liberi arbitrii eius quidditate, quia quandoque erit sine hac
vertibilitate.

[18.11] E contra autem videtur per definitiones liberi arbitrii ab aliis
auctoribus positas quod de quidditate liberi arbitrii sit voluntatis flexibilitas
et ad utrumque libertas. Sic enim a quibusdam definitur: "Liberum arbitrium
1470 est facultas voluntatis et rationis, qua bonum eligitur gratia assistente, vel
malum eadem desistente."¹⁸³ Et subiungit Magister in *Sententiis*: "Et dicitur
liberum quantum ad voluntatem, quae ad utrumlibet flecti potest; arbitrium
vero quantum ad rationem."¹⁸⁴ Et paulo post ait: "Illa ergo animae rationalis
potentia, qua velle bonum et malum potest, utrumque discernens, liberum
1475 arbitrium nuncupatur."¹⁸⁵

[18.12] Ad idem quoque faciunt auctoritates Hieronymi et Bernardi
suprapositae ad probandum quod posse peccare bonum sit et a Deo creatum.

[18.13] Item, minime de quidditate et essentia voluntatis rationalis est
ad utrumque vertibilitas; cassa enim est discretio ubi non est potestas libera
1480 utrumque discretorum eligendi. Atqui voluntas rationalis ipsa est liberum
arbitrium.

[18.14] Item, omnes rationes quae suprapositae arguunt liberum arbi-
trium esse, quid aliud arguunt quam voluntatis rationalis liberam vertibili-
tatem?

1485 [18.15] Item, si Deus potuit numquam voluisse multa quae vult, quia
potuit multa non fecisse quae fecit, et fecisse quae non fecit, est in Deo
voluntatis vertibilitas—non ut cum velit aliquid possit mutari eius voluntas
in oppositum, cum ipse sit omnino immutabilis, sed ex hoc intellectu, ut
sit in eo potestas volendi utrumque duorum oppositorum, posse scilicet
1490 volendi absque initio et ab aeterno quod non vult, et non volendi absque
initio et ab aeterno quod vult. Est igitur in Deo voluntatis utriusque
oppositorum potestas. Et constat quod haec creata fuit in angelo et homine,
alioquin cum una fuerit et par angelorum condita natura, non fuisset in
eis dispar voluntas, hinc laudabilis, inde vituperabilis. Est itaque tam in
1495 Deo quam homine quam angelo potestas volendi utrumlibet oppositorum.
Et si haec potestas vocetur voluntatis vertibilitas, est in eis et haec. Et cum

1465 eius *in marg. E* 1467 autem *in marg. E* 1478 minime *E: in me F: om.*
W: forte maxime vel nonne legend. 1486 et . . . fecit *in marg. E, sed facit pro fecit*
1487 voluntas *in marg. E* 1493 par *corr. E sup. lin. ex per* 1496 post vocetur
exp. E potestatis voluntatis *in marg. E*

¹⁸³ Peter Lombard, 1 *Sent.* 24.3 (ed. *Collegium S. Bonaventurae*, 1:452.27-453.1).

¹⁸⁴ Ibid. (453.1-2).

¹⁸⁵ Ibid. (453.9-11).

haec sit in Deo, haec non potest esse ex parte aliqua defectio. Ergo eadem in creatura defectio non est sed bonum est et a Deo creatum est.

[18.16] Nec est haec potestas qua potest velle /305ra/ libere utrumlibet
 1500 oppositorum, quam etiam vocavimus voluntatis vertibilitatem, idem simpliciter quod potestas peccandi et non peccandi, cum sit in Deo qui peccare non potest. Cum enim ipse sit per se rectitudo et ideo res rectae quia ipse vult eas, non potest velle non rectum, quia si vult aliquid eo ipso est rectum. Est igitur praedicta vertibilitas ubi non est peccandi potestas; ergo haec non
 1505 est illa.

[18.17] Praeterea sunt plurima duo opposita quorum utrumque indifferens est et utrumque potest bene agi, et bene et laudabiliter potest homo utrumlibet velle. Haec ergo potestas utrumlibet est potestas bene faciendi. Sed potestas bene faciendi non est simpliciter idem cum potestate peccandi.

1510 [18.18] Posito quoque quod omnia duo opposita essent indifferentia et nullum oppositorum esset contra Dei voluntatem, posset intelligi esse dicta voluntatis vertibilitas absque potestate peccandi. Non est igitur potestas peccandi idem simpliciter quod haec vertibilitas.

[18.19] Peccare autem est velle quod iniquum est. Non est autem
 1515 iniquum nisi quia verae aequitati et verae rectitudini, hoc est divinae voluntati, contrarium. Hoc est itaque peccare: velle contrarium ei quod Deus vult, velle, inquam, hoc secundum quod est ei contrarium. Contrarium autem peccandi, scilicet bene agere, consistit in volendo id quod Deus vult, in volendo, inquam, illud secundum quod Deo bene placitum est.}

1520 [18.20] Invenimus itaque vertibilitatem voluntatis ad volendum utrumlibet oppositorum nude consideratorum in se ipsis non relatorum ad Dei voluntatem. Et haec vertibilitas libera est ad volendum utrumlibet nude in se consideratum, et haec est illi naturalis ex sua conditione. {Velle autem hoc aliquid secundum quod beneplacitum est Deo, non potest nisi adiuta
 1525 per gratiam, sicut infra patebit. Velle autem hoc inquantum est contrarium beneplacito Dei defectio est a bono naturali, quod est velle hoc nudum} ab omni relatione ad Dei beneplacitum vel iram.

[18.21] {Potestas itaque peccandi potestas defectionis est, nec est illud bonum naturale quod est vertibilitas voluntatis ad utrumque oppositorum,
 1530 sed est quaedam illius boni defectio vel corruptio seu depravatio.

[18.22] Quod autem homo ex se habet potestatem bonorum naturalium,}

1498 creatum *FW*: creante *E* 1500 oppositorum *in marg.* *E* 1501 non *FW*:
om. E 1502 sit *FW*: *om. E* 1507 potest¹ *W*: *om. EF* 1508 utrumlibet² *FW*:
 utrumque *E* 1524 quod *FW*: *om. E* adiuta *FW*: adiutam *E* 1530 post est
exp. E necessario quaedam . . . depravatio *FW*: quidem . . . depravatio *in marg.* *E*

- ex gratia gratuitorum, ex sui defectione malorum,¹⁸⁶ patet ex Augustini *Hypomnestico* ubi ait: "Fatemur liberum arbitrium omnibus hominibus habens quidem iudicium rationis, non quod sit ideonum, quae ad Deum
 1535 pertinent sine Deo aut inchoare aut certe peragere, sed tantum in operibus vitae praesentis tam bonis quam malis. Bonis dico, quae de bono naturae oriuntur, id est velle laborare in agro, velle bibere, manducare, habere amicum, indumenta, fabricare domum, uxorem ducere pecora nutrire, artem discere, velle quicquid bonum ad praesentem pertinet vitam, quia omnia
 1540 non sine gubernaculo divino subsistunt, immo ex ipso et per ipsum sunt; malis vero, ut est velle idolum colere, blasphemare, turpe vivere, velle quicquid non licet vel non expedit operari. Sed non ista pertinent ad substantiam vitae praesentis, quia non sunt a Deo, immo male desiderata, maculant vitam, quae a Deo est."¹⁸⁷
 1545 [18.23] {Est itaque arbitrii libertas ipsa naturalis et spontanea voluntatis vertibilitas ad volendum utrumlibet oppositorum nude consideratorum. In Deo autem idem est velle hoc aliquid et velle consonum suae voluntati et ita aequitati et rectitudini. Et ita idem est illi velle hoc aliquid, et velle bonum,} aequum et iustum, et velle bene, aequè et iuste.
 1550 {In creatura autem non sic, cum creaturae voluntas non sit ipsa rectitudo, nec sit illi essentielle conformem esse voluntati divinae. Sed praedicta vertibilitas ad volendum utrumlibet oppositorum nude consideratorum in creatura per gratiam iuvatur ad volendum unum oppositorum inquantum beneplacet Deo; et per se deficit ad reliquum volendum secundum quod
 1555 displicet Deo.

1532 *post Augustini exp. E'imponi* 1533 *Yponostico in marg. E* 1534 *quae corr. E ex quod* 1535 *pertinent corr. E ex pertinet* aut¹ *corr. E ex a* *post aut² exp. E cum* 1536 *post naturae exp. E eviuntur* 1537 *oriuntur in marg. E* 1541 *velle¹ in marg. E* 1546 *vertibilitas in marg. E* nude *corr. E sup. lin. ex unde*

¹⁸⁶ Cf. *Hexaemeron* 3.14.1 (ed. Dales and Gieben, 112-13).

¹⁸⁷ Pseudo-Augustine, *Hypomnesticon* 3.4.5 (PL 45:1623). Grosseteste's text here diverges considerably from the text published by Migne, which is as follows: "Est, fatemur, liberum arbitrium omnibus hominibus, habens quidem iudicium rationis, non per quod sit ideonum quae ad Deum pertinent, sine Deo aut inchoare aut certe peragere: sed tantum in operibus vitae praesentis, tam bonis, quam etiam malis. Bonis dico, quae de bono naturae oriuntur, id est, velle laborare in agro, velle manducare et bibere, velle habere amicum, velle habere indumenta, velle fabricare domum, uxorem velle ducere, pecora nutrire, artem discere diversarum rerum bonarum, velle quidquid bonum ad praesentem pertinet vitam: quae omnia non sine gubernaculo divino subsistunt, imo ex ipso et per ipsum sunt, vel esse coeperunt. Malis vero dico, ut est, velle idolum colere, velle homicidium, velle adulterium facere, res alienas velle diripere, Deum viventem in saecula blasphemare, velle turpiter vivere, velle maleficia discere, velle inebriari et luxuriose vivere, velle quidquid non licet vel non expedit operari. Sed ista non pertinent ad substantiam vitae praesentis, quia non sunt a Deo; imo male desiderata maculant vitam quae est a Deo."

[18.24] Est itaque in creatura liberum arbitrium praedicta vertibilitas, quae est voluntatis rationalis facultas ad eligendum bonum iuvante gratia et malum eadem absistente. In Creatore autem huic facultati essenziale est eligere bonum, quia ex ipsa electione est bonum et aequum quod eligitur.

1560 [18.25] Praedicta autem vertibilitas voluntatis ad utrumque oppositorum nude consideratorum potest dici potestas peccandi et non peccandi per accidens loquendo, quia est potestas eligendi illud oppositum cui accidit esse divinae voluntati contrarium.}

Georgetown University.

1563 *Hic desinit E*

TWO OPUSCULA OF ROBERT GROSSETESTE:
DE VNIVERSI COMPLECIONE
AND *EXPOSICIO CANONIS MISSE*

Joseph Goering and F. A. C. Mantello

Two works that may be attributed to Robert Grosseteste, bishop of Lincoln from 1235 to 1253, have been identified in a manuscript purchased in 1976 by the British Library in London and now known as Add. 59839.¹ The first is a *questio* on the "completion of the universe"; the second is a brief exposition of the Canon of the Mass. Neither of these works has been noted by any of the biographers or bibliographers of Grosseteste, and both are published below for the first time.

Add. 59839 is a collection of miscellaneous texts copied by several scribes in England ca. 1300. The contents of this codex, described below in Appendix A, indicate that it was produced for an academic audience; the inclusion of several works written by or associated with St. Bonaventure might suggest a Fransiscan milieu.

A hand coeval with those of the scribes of this manuscript has supplied running Arabic or Roman numerals in the margin at the top of each page to designate forty-four distinct sections or units in the volume. Of these, section no. 6, where the *Breviloquium* of St. Bonaventure has been copied, begins on fol. 14r and ends on fol. 51v. In the blank space remaining on fol. 51v, the same scribe has copied a brief *questio* on the completion of the universe ascribed to a bishop of Lincoln whose first name begins with *R*: *R. lincolniensis episcopus querit quomodo vniuersum sit completum*. . . . Such an attribution is usually interpreted as a reference to Robert Grosse-

¹ We are most grateful to Dr. Ruth J. Dean, who noticed an ascription to Grosseteste in this manuscript and brought it to our attention. Dr. Margaret Nickson of the British Library's Department of Manuscripts kindly provided a copy of the description of this codex included in Sotheby's sale catalogue of 30 November 1976 (*Catalogue of Manuscripts on Papyrus, Vellum, and Paper*, Bibliotheca Phillippica Medieval Manuscripts, n.s., 11 [London, 1976], 23-27). The most recent biographical study of Grosseteste is Richard Southern, *Robert Grosseteste: The Growth of an English Mind in Medieval Europe* (Oxford, 1986). S. Harrison Thomson's work, *The Writings of Robert Grosseteste, Bishop of Lincoln 1235-1253* (Cambridge, 1940; rpt. New York, 1971) remains the most comprehensive survey of Grosseteste's writings.

teste,² and in a second copy of the *questio*, on fol. 38r of British Library, Royal 7.A.vi, the name is written out in full as "Robert."³

Section no. 16 of Add. 59839 opens with a copy of Hugh of St. Cher's *Speculum ecclesie*, which begins on fol. 118v (*Incipit quidam tractatus misse*) and ends on fol. 124v. It is followed by various notes and questions concerning the Mass (e.g., *Utrum sacerdos minus quam duobus presentibus debet celebrare*) that occupy fols. 124v and 125r. Section no. 17 begins on fol. 125v with the rubric *Exposicio misse R. E<piscopi> lincolniensis*, which the scribe probably found in his exemplar. This he has inserted within the writing frame at the end of the first two (shortened) lines of the text. The *exposicio* ends on fol. 126r and is followed immediately by excerpts from the table, here entitled *De sacerdotibus*, which circulated in many manuscripts as part of Bishop Grosseteste's statutes for the diocese of Lincoln.⁴ The same hand has then copied, after an introductory *Dicendum est de nominibus instrumentorum ecclesie*, brief descriptions of, and etymologies for, various parts of the church, etc. The remaining seven lines on the page are given over to short notes on the Eucharist.⁵

THE COMMENTARY ON THE MASS

This short commentary, edited below in Appendix B, is in fact restricted to an exposition of the Canon of the Mass, but it should not be confused with the *Canon misse* listed among the spurious writings of Grosseteste by S. Harrison Thomson.⁶ The rubric of the treatise, *Exposicio misse R. E<piscopi> lincolniensis*, does not unambiguously point to Grosseteste as the author, but such an attribution is, as we have seen, at least likely and seems not to have been questioned by the scribe, who probably found it in the exemplar he was copying. The copy of much of the table that was part of Grosseteste's visitation statutes and here follows immediately in the manuscript would seem to confirm that the "Bishop R." in question is indeed Robert Grosseteste and not, say, R<ichard Gravesend>, bishop of Lincoln from 1258 to 1279.

² See F. A. C. Mantello, "Letter CXXXI Ascribed to Robert Grosseteste: A New Edition of the Text," *Franciscan Studies* 39 (1979): 165-66 n. 3.

³ See Appendix C below, line 3 of text and *apparatus criticus*.

⁴ See *Councils & Synods with Other Documents Relating to the English Church*, vol. 2: A.D. 1205-1313, ed. F. M. Powicke and C. R. Cheney, 2 parts (Oxford, 1964), pt. 1 [1205-1265], pp. 276-78. The text in Add. 59839 begins with the entries numbered 6 through 31 in *Councils & Synods*; entries 2-5 are at the end of the text in the manuscript, and nos. 26 and 32-46 are omitted.

⁵ See Appendix A below, item no. 17.

⁶ Thomson, *Writings*, 244, no. 8.

This *exposicio* is a scrappy piece, perhaps deriving from a teacher's lecture notes or an auditor's "report" rather than from a finished treatise. A close examination of the text reveals, moreover, that almost the entire work has been excerpted from the *De missarum mysteriis* of Lotario dei Segni (Pope Innocent III).⁷

Could Robert Grosseteste have been responsible for this *exposicio*? Does it not seem inappropriate to ascribe a work such as this to one of the most creative and original writers of the thirteenth century? Before repudiating Grosseteste's authorship, it would be wise to consider some of the scholastic and pastoral settings in which such an *exposicio* might have been produced, and to remember that Grosseteste did not compose only polished and innovative treatises. There were in fact many occasions when, in response to practical demands on his time and energies as a teacher and a bishop, he might well have compiled this brief commentary on the Mass.

As lector for the Oxford Franciscans beginning in 1229/30 and a master of theology at Oxford until 1235, Grosseteste would have been expected to lecture, to dispute questions, and to preach. Some evidence for his having undertaken all these activities has survived in extant manuscripts. Sermons from Grosseteste's school days are preserved in Durham Cathedral Library A.III.12.⁸ Excerpts from his lectures on the Psalms are found in the same codex.⁹ He also lectured on the Pauline letters, although only his commentary on Galatians has survived in its entirety.¹⁰ He seems not to have lectured on Lombard's *Sentences* or on Comestor's *Histories*, two texts that frequently formed the basis for lectures in the schools. Grosseteste's three idiosyncratic monographs—*Hexaameron*, *De cessatione legalium*, and *De decem mandatis*—seem also to reflect his lectures in the schools.¹¹ Only one set of his scholastic disputations has thus far been identified with

⁷ For details, see the introduction to Appendix B below and the apparatus of parallel passages following the text of the *exposicio*.

⁸ See Thomson, *Writings*, 13-16, 34, 182-91. For a discussion of Grosseteste's preaching, see Servus Gieben, "Robert Grosseteste on Preaching: With the Edition of the Sermon 'Ex rerum initium' on Redemption," *Collectanea franciscana* 37 (1967): 100-141.

⁹ Thomson, *Writings*, 75-76; cf. Southern, *Robert Grosseteste*, 113-19, 176-81.

¹⁰ See Thomson, *Writings*, 73. For what appears to be part of an exposition of the book of Ecclesiasticus, see James McEvoy, "The Sun as *res* and *signum*: Grosseteste's Commentary on Ecclesiasticus ch. 43, vv. 1-5," *Recherches de théologie ancienne et médiévale* 41 (1974): 38-91.

¹¹ Robert Grosseteste, *Hexaameron*, ed. Richard C. Dales and Servus Gieben, *Auctores Britannici Medii Aevi* 6 (London, 1982); idem, *De cessatione legalium*, ed. Richard C. Dales and Edward B. King, *Auctores Britannici Medii Aevi* 7 (London, 1986); idem, *De decem mandatis*, ed. Richard C. Dales and Edward B. King, *Auctores Britannici Medii Aevi* 10 (Oxford, 1987).

certainty, that on the endowments (*dotes*) of glorified bodies in heaven.¹² But these surviving records of Grosseteste's theological teaching represent only a part of his academic activities, and one might imagine him elucidating other texts for the benefit of his students.

The Canon of the Mass is seldom reckoned among the "set texts" for scholastic lectures, but the number and popularity of commentaries on the Mass found in thirteenth-century manuscripts suggest that it could serve such a purpose in the schools.¹³ Indeed, the Fourth Lateran Council (1215) urged not only that clerics be taught theology (*sacra pagina*), but also that they be instructed "in the correct celebration of the divine office and the sacraments of the Church" (*super divinis officiis et ecclesiasticis sacramentis, qualiter ea rite valeant celebrare*).¹⁴ Instruction on the Divine Office found no place in the formal curriculum of lectures on Lombard's *Sentences* and the Bible as codified in the statutes of the universities, but occasions surely arose where an *exposicio misse* such as the one studied here would have been appropriate or necessary, perhaps within the context of the exercises known as *collationes*. At a later date these "conferences" or "talks" would be formalized as evening sermons in the convents and colleges, but in the early days of the Oxford Franciscans less formal *collationes* may have been the occasion for lectures or expositions like this one.¹⁵

Another possibility is that this *opusculum* is to be associated with Grosseteste's teaching activities within his own episcopal household. We know that he took seriously the responsibility of educating the members of his *familia*,¹⁶ and we can imagine his undertaking to provide the kind of instruction exemplified by this exposition of the Canon of the Mass.

¹² See Joseph Goering, ed., "The *De dotibus* of Robert Grosseteste," *Mediaeval Studies* 44 (1982): 82-109. Daniel Callus has edited another set of theological questions in "The *Summa theologiae* of Robert Grosseteste" in *Studies in Medieval History Presented to Frederick Maurice Powicke*, ed. R. W. Hunt, W. A. Pantin, and R. W. Southern (Oxford, 1948), 180-208, but the authenticity of these questions is not accepted by all; cf. Southern, *Robert Grosseteste*, 30-32.

¹³ See Jean Ribailier, *Magistri Guillelmi Altissiodorensis Summa aurea: Introduction générale*, *Spicilegium Bonaventurianum* 20 (Grottaferrata, 1987), 6-11.

¹⁴ *Conciliorum oecumenicorum decreta*, ed. J. Alberigo et al. (Bologna, 1973), 248 (no. 27: *De instructione ordinandorum*).

¹⁵ In his *De adventu fratrum minorum in Angliam* (ed. A. G. Little [Manchester, 1951], 7), Thomas of Eccleston describes early *collationes* among the Oxford Franciscans in this way: "Sed cum scholares in vespera domum redissent, intraverunt domum, in qua sederant, et ibi faciebant sibi ignem, et sederunt juxta eum, et ollulam nonnunquam cum faecibus cerevisiae, cum collationem bibere deberent, posuerunt super ignem, et posuerunt discum in olla et biberunt circulariter, et dixerunt singuli aliquod verbum aedificationis." When Grosseteste was appointed the first lector for the Oxford convent a few years later (see *ibid.*, 48), he may have taken part in such *collationes* and raised them to a more formal level.

¹⁶ For penitential instructions written for his household, see Joseph Goering and F. A. C.

The most likely context for this exposition, however, is suggested by the text that follows it immediately in the manuscript, namely the table of articles proposed by the bishop for use in his diocesan visitations.¹⁷ Grosseteste was an assiduous and innovative visitor of his large diocese, and he left detailed descriptions of his practices. In a letter to one of his archdeacons,¹⁸ he explains that the large numbers of people and of parish churches in the diocese of Lincoln made it impossible for him to preach the word of God to everyone individually. He therefore proposed to have the local clergy of several parishes meet together, deanery by deanery.¹⁹ Once they had assembled, he would preach to them and teach them how to instruct their own flocks by word and example.²⁰ According to the Dunstable annalist, Grosseteste also used the occasion of these decanal visits to promulgate synodal statutes.²¹ In 1250 the bishop proudly described his procedure to the pope and assembled cardinals:

When I became a bishop I believed it to be necessary to be a shepherd of the souls committed to me, whose blood would be required of me at the Last Judgement unless I used all diligence in visiting them as Scripture requires. So I began to perambulate my bishopric, archdeaconry by archdeaconry, and rural deanery by rural deanery, requiring the clergy of each deanery to bring their people with their children together at a fixed place and time in order to have their children confirmed, to hear the Word of God, and to make their confessions. When the clergy and people were assembled, I myself frequently preached to the clergy, a Friar Preacher or Minor to the people, and four friars heard confessions and imposed penances. Then, having confirmed the children on two days, I and my clerks gave our attention to enquiring into things which needed correction or reform so far as they lay within our power.²²

Mantello, "Notus in Iudea Deus: Robert Grosseteste's Confessional Formula in Lambeth Palace MS 499," *Viator* 18 (1987): 253-73. See also Thomson, *Writings*, 125-26 (no. 82), 135 (no. 97), 137 (no. 101), 157-58 (nos. 117 and 118); Southern, *Robert Grosseteste*, 19-20, 225-30, etc.

¹⁷ See p. 90 above.

¹⁸ See *Councils & Synods*, 263-64.

¹⁹ "[R]ectoribus ecclesiarum, vicariis, et sacerdotibus parochialibus per singulos decanatus coram nobis congregatis . . ." (*Councils & Synods*, 263). The deanery was a jurisdictional unit consisting of several parishes and represented by a (rural) dean; on the continent this official was often called an "archpriest."

²⁰ "[I]psius verbum dei predicemus, instruantes eosdem qualiter populum sibi subiectum verbo doceant et conversationis sue exemplo informant . . ." (*Councils & Synods*, 263).

²¹ "Eodem anno [1238/39] Robertus episcopus Lincoln' generaliter visitavit in episcopatu suo monasteria et archidiaconatus et decanatus; et in singulis capitula generalia celebravit, et sermonem fecit, et constitutiones promulgavit . . ." (*Councils & Synods*, 264).

²² Translation from Southern, *Robert Grosseteste*, 258.

We know that Grosseteste undertook several pastoral visitations of his diocese, and that he used these occasions to instruct the clergy personally. He may well have considered this brief lecture on the Canon, the central and most solemn part of the Mass, as a practical response to that mandate of the Fourth Lateran Council, noted above, that clerics be instructed in the proper celebration of the liturgical rites of the Church.²³ The happy chance that the *exposicio* is followed immediately in this manuscript by a copy of much of the table of articles proposed by Grosseteste for use in his diocesan visitations makes this last hypothesis especially attractive.²⁴

Given these several occasions on which Robert Grosseteste might have wished to use part of a work by Innocent III to expound briefly the Canon of the Mass, we may feel reasonably secure in interpreting the copyist's ascription in the way he seems to have intended. There is admittedly nothing in the text that points to Grosseteste as its author or redactor, and nothing that indicates the date when he might have first assembled this *expositio*. All we have is a work drawn almost entirely from Innocent's treatise on the Mass. We are reminded, however, that Innocent III himself set an example for such "derivative" instruction. Humbert of Romans reports how Innocent, "vir magnae litteraturae," took pride in having appropriated a homily by Gregory the Great, much of which he recited publicly word for word. When asked why he had done so, Innocent replied that his purpose was to chide and instruct those who scornfully refused to make use of the compositions of others.²⁵ In this case it is plain that Grosseteste, like Innocent, did not consider plagiarism beneath his dignity, especially when engaged in the pastoral education of his clergy.

THE *QUESTIO* ON THE COMPLETION OF THE UNIVERSE

A second work, surviving in Add. 49839 and also in Royal 7.A.vi, and edited below in Appendix C, can be attributed to Robert Grosseteste with greater confidence. This is a *questio* that begins as follows: "Robert, Bishop

²³ See p. 92 above.

²⁴ Note that no. 38 of the articles of visitation requires "quod canon misse sit correctus" (*Councils & Synods*, 277).

²⁵ Humbert of Romans, *Opera de vita regulari*, ed. J. J. Berthier, vol. 2 (Rome, 1889; rpt. Torino, 1956), 397: "Audivi quod Innocentius papa, sub quo celebratum est Concilium Lateranense, vir magnae litteraturae, cum semel praedicaret in festo Magdalenae, habuit juxta se quemdam tenentem homiliam Gregorii de festo illo, et verbo ad verbum dicebat in vulgari quod scriptum erat ibi in latino, quaerens, cum non recordabatur, ab illo qui librum tenebat, sequentia. Cum autem post sermonem quereretur ab eo quare sic fecisset, cum sufficiens esset ad alia multa dicenda, respondit quod hoc fecerat ad reprehensionem et instructionem illorum qui dicta ab aliis dicere dedignantur."

of Lincoln, asks in what way the universe was completed; to which he replies that the universe was completed through the Incarnation of the Word in the womb of a virgin." This *opusculum* is brief and unprepossessing, but it discusses and develops one of the most important themes introduced by Grosseteste into the discourse of the schools. His argument that the Incarnation was a necessary (or at least fitting) conclusion to the work of creation, and that "the Son of God would have necessarily become incarnate even if Adam had not sinned," represented a new departure in theological discussions of the Incarnation. The challenge represented by this position was taken up by many theologians, and especially by Duns Scotus, in whose school it inspired two central doctrines: the absolute primacy and predestination of Christ, and the Immaculate Conception of Mary. The *questio* edited below, however brief, contributes important elements to our understanding of Grosseteste's teaching on the subject.²⁶

Probably the earliest, and certainly the most extensive treatment of the Incarnation in Grosseteste's writings is to be found in his *De cessatione legalium*, completed shortly after 1230. In part 3 of that work Grosseteste seeks to demonstrate by reason ("ratione") the fittingness of God's becoming Man. He notes that Augustine, Gregory, Anselm, and many scriptural exegetes have clearly shown that it was appropriate for one who was simultaneously God and Man to suffer in order to bring about the restoration of fallen humankind.²⁷ Indeed, those commentators seem to imply that if man had not sinned, God would not have become Man. But Grosseteste discerns powerful arguments ("rationes efficaces") suggesting that God would

²⁶ See the excellent discussions and bibliographical notices in Dominic J. Unger, "Robert Grosseteste Bishop of Lincoln (1235-1253) on the Reasons for the Incarnation," *Franciscan Studies* 16 (1956): 1-36; Richard C. Dales, "A Medieval View of Human Dignity," *Journal of the History of Ideas* 38 (1977): 557-72; and James McEvoy, "The Absolute Predestination of Christ in the Theology of Robert Grosseteste" in "*Sapientiae doctrina*": *Mélanges de théologie et de littérature médiévales offerts à Dom Hildebrand Bascour O.S.B.* (Louvain, 1980), 212-30. See also the recent discussions by Richard W. Southern, *Robert Grosseteste*, 219-24. For the historical antecedents of the question, see James McEvoy, "Ioannes Scottus Eriugena and Robert Grosseteste: An Ambiguous Influence" in *Eriugena Redivivus: Zur Wirkungsgeschichte seines Denkens im Mittelalter und im Übergang zur Neuzeit*, ed. Werner Beierwaltes (Heidelberg, 1987), 192-223 (at 214-21).

²⁷ *De cessatione legalium*, 119: "Possunt autem pleraque de hiis que auctoritate scripture iam ostensa sunt etiam ostendi ratione. Et, supposita veritate evangelice hystorie, concludi potest quod ille homo qui dictus est Ihesus, filius Marie uxoris Ioseph, sit vere Deus et homo, Christus videlicet in lege promissus. Quod autem oporteat unum in persona esse Deum et hominum, liberatorem hominis lapsi a culpa et pena et reductorem illius ad gloriam quam peccando amiserat, et hoc per crucis passionem, luce clarius ostendunt beatus Augustinus, Gregorius, et Anselmus, maxime in libro suo qui intitulatur *Cur Deus homo*; et sparsim omnes expositores sacre pagine rationabiliter declarent quod hominis lapsi restauracionem oportuit fieri per Dei hominis passionem."

have become flesh even if man had not fallen.²⁸ He then proceeds to formulate these arguments in detail,²⁹ before concluding with this disarming but characteristic summation:

By these and similar arguments it seems possible to add [i.e., to the conclusions reached by the Fathers and the commentators] that God becomes Man despite the fact that man had never sinned. But I realize that I do not know whether this is true, and I greatly deplore my ignorance in this matter. For, as I said above, I do not recall having seen any determination of this question by our authorities. And I do not wish or dare to assert anything in so difficult a question without express authority, because a plausible argument can quickly deceive my small skill and knowledge. But if it is true that God would have become Man even though man had not fallen, every creature [i.e., even the good angels, who did not fall] should properly defer to that Man, who is head of the Church.³⁰

Grosseteste develops his argument further in two passages of his *Hexaameron* (1232/35), where he clarifies the way in which Christ is both the beginning and the end of creation.³¹ The first passage comes at the end of a long explication of the first two words of Genesis, "In principio." He notes that *principium* may be understood as the incarnate Word, in whom God the Father unified heaven and earth, that is divine and human nature. And *principium* may also, he observes, be understood as the same incarnate son by whom God brought about the restoration of heaven and earth after the fall of the angels and of men.³² Grosseteste finds support for this double

²⁸ *De cessatione legalium*, 119: "Verumtamen, an Deus esset homo etiam si non esset lapsus homo non determinant aliqui de sacris expositoribus in libris suis quos ego adhuc inspexerim, nisi fallat me memoria mea. Sed magis videntur insinuare quod si non esset lapsus homo, non esset Deus homo; et ideo solum Deus factus sit homo ut hominem perditum repararet. Videntur tamen esse rationes efficaces ad ostendendum simpliciter quod Deus esset homo etiam si numquam lapsus fuisset homo."

²⁹ *De cessatione legalium* 3.1.3-30, pp. 120-33. See the summary of his arguments in Unger, "Reasons," 26-34; and McEvoy, "Predestination," 212-18, 224-30.

³⁰ "Hiis et huiusmodi ratiocinationibus videtur posse astrui Deum esse hominem licet numquam pecasset homo. Quod tamen an verum sit me ignorare scio, et meam in hac parte ignorantiam non mediocriter doleo. Nichil enim, ut supradiximus, a nostris auctoribus super hoc determinatum me vidisse recolo. Nec sine expressa auctoritate aliquid in tam ardua questione asserere volo vel audeo, quia parvitatem ingenii mei et scientie mee cito potest fallere verisimilis ratiocinatio. Si hoc tamen verum esset quod Deus scilicet fuisset homo licet non esset lapsus homo, congruenter omnis creatura intenderet illum hominem, qui est capud ecclesie" (*De cessatione legalium*, 133).

³¹ *Hexaameron* 1.13.1 and 9.8.1-3. The first of these passages was edited and studied by Unger, "Reasons," 23-25, 27-36; McEvoy, "Predestination," 224 n. 25, draws attention to the second.

³² *Hexaameron* 1.13.1, p. 69: "Potest autem preter dictas exposiciones per 'principium' intelligi Verbum incarnatum, in quo Deus Pater fecit unionem celi et terre, id est divine et humane nature; et in eodem Filio incarnato fecit celum et terram secundum omnes

interpretation in two alternative readings for "In principio." The first, reported by St. Jerome, reads "In capitulo fecit Deus celum et terram." Since *capitulum* is the diminutive of *caput*, meaning "head," and Christ is head of the Church (Eph 1:22, 5:23), it is fitting to describe Christ as "head" of creation. The second variant, reported by St. Basil, reads "Summatim fecit Deus celum et terram." *Summatim* signifies a quick or short utterance and thus means here "In a quick or abrupt Word (*in verbo abbreviante vel abbreviato*) God made heaven and earth." This Word is quick and abrupt because God the Father needed only a single Word to create everything. But it is also self-abbreviated by being made flesh: "The Word was made flesh and dwelt among us" (Jo 1:14). It is this incarnate Word, the *principium* or beginning of creation, that the Apostle Paul has in mind when he quotes Isaiah about the brief and consummating word ("Verbum consummans et brevians in equitate, quia verbum brevium faciet Dominus super terram" [Rom 9:28; cf. Is 10:22-23]), and in his letter to the Colossians ("In ipso <Verbo> condita sunt universa in celis et in terra, visibilia et invisibilia" [Col 1:16]).³³

In this passage Grosseteste does not pursue the theoretical question of whether God would have become incarnate if Adam had not sinned. He wishes only to demonstrate that the incarnate Word is fittingly described as the "beginning" of creation, both as the creating Word of the Father and as the restoring Word that makes amends for the rupture in creation caused by fallen angels and men.

Nor does Grosseteste raise the theoretical question directly in a second passage of the *Hexaemeron*, where he discusses Christ as the completion and consummation of creation. Commenting on Gen 2:2, "Complevitque Deus die septimo opus suum," he observes that the Septuagint reads "Consummavit Deus die sexto opera sua que fecit." He interprets this second reading to signify, allegorically, that Christ completed and consummated all things when he took on flesh in the sixth age of the world: "For he led all natures back, as it were, into the unity of a circle, for this they did not fully enjoy before the Incarnation."³⁴ Grosseteste then reprises a passage from his *De cessatione legalium*, explaining how the God-Man

superiores intellectus celi et terre: fecit, inquam, per reparacionem. Celum enim angelorum per quorundam angelorum lapsum detrimentum numeri suorum civium est passum. Omnis quoque creatura corporalis deterioracionem passa est in lapsu hominis. Sed Filio Dei incarnato passo ad antiquam dignitatem reducta sunt omnia."

³³ *Hexaemeron*, 70-71.

³⁴ *Hexaemeron* 9.8.1, pp. 275-76: "Et secundum hanc literam potest intelligi allegorice quod Christus sexta etate carnem assumens omnia complevit et consummavit. Omnes enim naturas quasi in circuli unitatem reduxit, que ante incarnationem non habuerunt plenam in circulum reversionem." Cf. McEvoy, "Predestination," 224 n. 25.

perfects creation and brings both bodies and souls into a reunion with the Creator.³⁵ He concludes, "And thus in Christ, who is God and Man, have all things been recollected and brought into unity; nor could this completion of creation have occurred except by God having become Man. In Christ, therefore, all things have been perfected and completed by a kind of natural perfection and completion."³⁶

Grosseteste elaborates this same theme in a Christmas homily, *Exiit edictum a Cesare Augusto*.³⁷ He begins by asking, "What necessity compelled, or reason demanded, that God become Man?" And to this he responds that the holy Fathers have given many adequate answers, and that he himself has written about the same question elsewhere.³⁸ Nevertheless, he proceeds here to repeat and develop some of the arguments of his *De cessatione legalium* and *Hexaameron*.³⁹ Of particular interest is his description of the Incarnation as bringing about "the fullest union of all things" (*plenissima universitatis unio*). Even before the Incarnation, all of God's creatures had a certain unity and intercommunication through a shared human nature, which conjoined both body and soul in a single person and thus united both the physical and spiritual natures of created things. This unification extended to all of creation—the angels, the heavens, the four elements (fire, air, water, and earth), and all physical bodies (stones, metals, plants, and animals).⁴⁰ With the Incarnation these creatures were brought into full communication and personal union with the Creator: "The circle of creatures is most strongly bound to the Creator, when the Creator himself . . . has been inserted in this same circle, and has been made its ornament and its honor, like the gem in a ring of gold."⁴¹

³⁵ *Hexaameron* 9.8.2-3, p. 276; cf. *De cessatione legalium* 3.1.27, p. 130.

³⁶ "Et ita in Christo, Deo et homine, sunt omnia recollecta et commodata ad unitatem; nec esset ista consummatio in rerum naturis, nisi Deus esset homo. In Christo igitur perfecta sunt omnia et consummata naturali quadam perfeccione et consummatione." (*Hexaameron* 9.8.3, p. 276).

³⁷ The last part of this homily has been printed by Unger, "Reasons," 18-23.

³⁸ Unger, "Reasons," 18: "Sed quae necessitas compulit aut ratio exigit, ut <Deus> fieret homo? Ad hanc quaestionem pluribus modis multumque sufficientibus respondent sancti Patres; nos quoque pro modulo nostrae parvitatís alias aliqua de eadem scripsimus quaestione. Ne tamen animos auditorum penitus deseramus in hac parte ieiunos, pauca de hoc ad praesens proponemus."

³⁹ See Unger, "Reasons," 25-36; and McEvoy, "Predestination," 224-30.

⁴⁰ Unger, "Reasons," 22; cf. *De cessatione legalium* 3.1.27-28, pp. 130-31. See also Dales, "Dignity"; McEvoy, "Predestination," 226-30; and McEvoy, *The Philosophy of Robert Grosseteste* (Oxford, 1982), pt. 4, chap. 6: "The Place of Man in the Cosmos," 369-441.

⁴¹ Unger, "Reasons," 22: "Nondum <Creator et creaturae> sic uniuntur sed cum assumit humanam naturam in unitatem personae, tunc est circulus creaturarum firmissime Creatori coniunctus, cum ipse Creator per unitatem personalem assumpto homine in unitatem personae, sit eidem circulo insertus, factusque decor et honor huius circuli tamquam gemma aurei annuli."

Grosseteste concludes his sermon with a final argument introducing the Virgin Mary as completing the modes of human generation. "The circle of human generation," he says, "was completed through the assumption of Man by God's Word, for from Adam, the first man, the first woman was made, and thereafter both men and women were born of other men and women. Finally, a man, the Lord Jesus Christ, was born of a woman alone, the most blessed Virgin. It was this Man who made the first man, and thus the circular statement is true: this man Jesus made Adam."⁴² Grosseteste meditates further on the Virgin's role in the completion of the universe. Commenting on the verse "Egredimini et videte, filiae Sion, regem Salomonem [hoc est Christum pacificum] in diademate, quo coronavit eum Mater sua in die desponsationis illius et in die laetitiae cordis eius" (Cant 3:11), he notes that Mary, "when she clothed [God's Word] in human flesh, crowned him with the crown of circular completion."⁴³ No specific mention of the Virgin's role in the completion of the universe is found in Grosseteste's *De cessatione legalium* and *Hexaemeron*, but in later years this view became one of the fundamental arguments advanced by proponents of the Immaculate Conception.⁴⁴

A stage in the development of this position may be observed in the *questio* edited below, whose doctrine and style conform exactly to those of other indisputably authentic writings of Robert Grosseteste. He would appear to have composed this *opusculum* after his installation as bishop of Lincoln

⁴² "Est etiam ex hominis a Deo Verbo assumptione completus circulus generationis humanae. De Adam namque homine videlicet primo facta est prima mulier; et consequenter de viro et muliere tam vir quam mulier; tandem de sola muliere beatissima videlicet Virgine factus est vir Dominus, scilicet Jesus Christus qui fecit primum hominem et ita vere circulariter dici potest iste homo Jesus videlicet fecit Adam" (Unger, "Reasons," 23). See also the discussion of this passage in Unger, "Reasons," 34; and cf. *De cessatione legalium* 3.1.29, p. 131: "Similiter in assumptione hominis a Verbo Deo, completus est circulus generationis humane, et linea recta seriei humane generationis in circulum reflexa. Possum enim sic dicere: ex Adam est Seth et ex Seth Enos et ex Enos Cainan, et ita linealiter descendendo usque ad Ihesum. Possumque reflectere et dicere: ex Ihesu Adam; iste enim homo, demonstrato Ihesu, creavit Adam."

⁴³ Unger, "Reasons," 23: "Mater namque eius, hoc est, beata Virgo, quando vestivit eum humana carne, coronavit eum praedictarum circulationum diademate; in hominis quoque assumptione fuit Christi desponsatio, quia tunc coniuncta est humana natura divinae."

⁴⁴ In general, see Aquilin Emmen, "Einführung in die Mariologie der Oxforder Franziskanerschule," *Franziskanische Studien* 39 (1957): 99-217; Jean-François Bonnefoy, *Le Ven. Jean Duns Scot, Docteur de l'Immaculée-Conception: Son milieu, sa doctrine, son influence* (Rome, 1960), esp. 139-82; Allan B. Wolter, "Duns Scotus and the Predestination of Christ," *The Cord: A Franciscan Spiritual Review* 5 (1955): 366-72. For Grosseteste's teaching, see Servus Gieben [Fr. Servus of Sint Anthonis], "Robert Grosseteste and the Immaculate Conception, With the Text of the Sermon *Tota pulchra es*," *Collectanea franciscana* 28 (1958): 211-27.

in 1235, for he is named "Lincolniensis Episcopus" in line 3 and in line 26 is called "Episcopum R<obertum>." The first reference could have been supplied by a scribe, especially if the (unascribed) text he was copying was among Grosseteste's papers in the library of the Franciscans, catalogued under the title *Episcopus Lincolniensis*.⁴⁵ But the reference within the body of the text would seem to reflect the copyist's insistence that it was "Bishop Robert" (not "Master Robert") who was raising and responding to a question about the completion of the universe.

We might well be uneasy, however, in assigning a *questio* to Grosseteste's episcopal period rather than to his magisterial period. Although the text as we have it is not the record of a formal scholastic *disputatio*, it retains several features of the genre.⁴⁶ It begins with the formulaic introduction "Robert the Bishop of Lincoln asks . . ."; it includes (in one manuscript) an "objection" or "argument to the contrary" in the form of a quoted text of Pope Leo 1 (lines 28-34); and the unusual recurrence of Grosseteste's name in the body of the *questio* (line 26) might be taken as a vestige of a magisterial *responsio*. Nevertheless, the explicit reference in the manuscripts to his episcopal status, and our vast ignorance about his academic activities as bishop both in his own household and (perhaps) in the schools, leads us to accept a date of composition after 1235. This would place the composition of this *questio* after that of the *De cessatione legalium* and the *Hexaameron*. No firm date for the other related text, the sermon *Exiit edictum*, has yet been proposed.⁴⁷

We might also suggest that the Marian focus, so prominent in this *questio*, signals a growing interest in the subject on Grosseteste's part. Near silence concerning Mary's role in the *De cessatione legalium* and the *Hexaameron* is followed by a tentative reference in the *Exiit edictum*, fuller treatment in the new *questio*, and, by the 1240s, a rather extensive study and appreciation of her place in theology in sermons such as the *Tota pulchra es*.⁴⁸

⁴⁵ Many of Grosseteste's writings, some in his own hand, were preserved in the library of the Greyfriars at Oxford. See R. W. Hunt, "The Library of Robert Grosseteste" in *Robert Grosseteste: Scholar and Bishop*, ed. D. A. Callus (Oxford, 1955), 126-27; and Servus Gieben, "Thomas Gascoigne and Robert Grosseteste: Historical and Critical Notes," *Vivarium* 8 (1970): 56-67.

⁴⁶ On the difficulties involved in identifying Grosseteste's authentic *questiones*, see Joseph Goering, "The *De dotibus*," 95.

⁴⁷ It would appear to be later than the *De cessatione legalium*. See McEvoy, *Philosophy*, 497.

⁴⁸ *Tota pulchra es* has been edited by Servus Gieben (see n. 44 above). For the date of this sermon, ca. 1240, see Goering, "The *De dotibus*," 93 n. 45; and McEvoy, *Philosophy*, 498.

The *questio* begins in the following way:

Robert, Bishop of Lincoln, asks in what way the universe was completed, to which he responds that it was completed through the incarnation of the Word in the womb of a virgin, which is evident thus: Imagine at the top of a straight line the Creator, then the creatures in their order—angel, heaven, fire, air, water, earth, minerals, plants, beasts, and man, who was created last. Therefore, since the beginning of this line is the Creator, and man the end, join together the two ends and bend the straight line into a circle, which was done when the Word was made flesh, and God Man, Alpha and Omega, beginning and end, that is beginning without beginning and end without end; and thus in that union of God and Man in one person was the universe completed. [lines 3-12]

This is perhaps the simplest of Grosseteste's arguments for Christ as the completion of the universe. He imagines the temporal order of creation as constituting a straight line (*linea recta*). God is at the beginning of this line, followed by creatures in the order of their creation. Such a straight line could, of course, be extended indefinitely. But when the Creator became Man in the Incarnation, the "line" of creation was bent back to form a circle that completed creation by joining together the first and the last moments in a circular perfection. Thus God, who is the beginning of creation, is also its end, the Alpha and Omega mentioned in the Apocalypse.

Only by bending the straight line of creation into a circle, according to Grosseteste, can the universe be completed:

Until this was done, some new thing could have been expected that would be added to the world, because adding to a straight line is always a possibility. But now, with the ends of the line closed and joined together, and that which was once first having been made last, we should expect nothing new, as do the Jews. And we may therefore quote the great prophet Isaiah: "I am the first and the last, says the Lord." For to a circle there can be no addition. It was in this way, then, that the world or the universe was completed and brought to fulfillment, and this in the womb of a virgin. [lines 13-19]

Although the argument in this form is new, it contains elements from all of Grosseteste's other discussions. From the *De cessatione legalium* he has taken the image of the straight line bent round,⁴⁹ from the *Hexaemeron* the notion of Christ as the beginning and end of creation,⁵⁰ and from the sermon *Exiit edictum* the order of creatures from first to last.⁵¹

⁴⁹ The Latin text is cited above in n. 42.

⁵⁰ See pp. 97-98 above.

⁵¹ See Unger, "Reasons," p. 22. The order of creatures in this text is *angelus, coeli, ignis, aer, aqua, terra, lapides, metalla, plantae, animalia, homo*. In the *questio* (Appendix

Proof that this argument entered into scholastic discussions of the completion of the universe is to be found in Richard Fishacre's commentary on the *Sentences* (ca. 1241-45).⁵² He explains how the "circle of creatures" was completed when the highest nature—God—was united to the lowest—earth—in the Incarnation. "In no other way could the universe be completed, since, before the 'extremes' of creation are brought together, there is always the possibility of an addition (and perfection precludes the addition of anything)."⁵³ Fishacre proceeds to make the same point about the two "extremes" of creation introduced in Grosseteste's *questio*, and to reveal his dependence on the bishop's arguments:

God is the first uncreated being, man the last created being. It was when God was made man that the circle of creation was completed. And unless this had come to pass, there would have been no completion of the universe. And then in a way is the saying in Isaiah true: "I am the first" (because I am God) "and the last" (because I am Man).⁵⁴

Once Grosseteste has shown through a simple image that the universe was incomplete until the Incarnation, he turns his attention to the instrument of that completion, the Virgin Mary. He begins by interpreting another quotation from Isaiah:

C below, lines 6-7) the list, in the accusative, is *angelum, celum, ignem, aerem, aquam, terram, mineralia, plantas, bruta, hominem*.

⁵² On the date of Fishacre's commentary, see R. James Long, "The Science of Theology According to Richard Fishacre: Edition of the Prologue to his *Commentary on the Sentences*," *Mediaeval Studies* 34 (1972): 71-74. For Fishacre's use of Grosseteste, see Richard C. Dales, "The Influence of Grosseteste's *Hexaemeron* on the *Sentences* Commentaries of Richard Fishacre, O.P. and Richard Rufus of Cornwall, O.F.M.," *Viator* 2 (1971): 271-300; idem, "Robert Grosseteste's Place in Medieval Discussions of the Eternity of the World," *Speculum* 61 (1986): 544-63; and Peter Raedts, *Richard Rufus of Cornwall and the Tradition of Oxford Theology* (Oxford, 1987), 225-34 and passim.

⁵³ Cambridge, Gonville and Caius College 329/410, fol. 263rb [3.1.2, q. 2]: "Queritur an decuit uel oportuit creatorem creature uniri. Quia sic, uidetur multipliciter; primo sic: Cum natura suprema sit Deus, infima terra, tunc primo uidetur circulus creaturarum completus et perfectus, cum unitum fuerit supremum infimo. Nec est aliter completum uniuersum, quia antequam extrema claudantur, semper est possibilis additio, et perfectum est cui non est possibilis additio. Ergo decuit ad completionem uniuersi terram Deo et e contrario uniri, quod factum est cum Dei Filius ea carni unitus, secundum illud Ioannis i: *Verbum caro factum est*." Cf. Raedts, *Richard Rufus*, 232.

⁵⁴ Cambridge, Gonville and Caius College 329/410, fol. 263rb-vb: "Item primum increatum est Deus, ultimum creatum est homo. Tunc igitur circulus creature perfectus est, cum Deus homo factus est. Et nisi hoc fieret, perfectio uniuersi non fuisset. Et tunc est verum uno modo quod dicitur Ysaia 44: *Ego primus, quia Deus, et novissimus, quia homo*. . . . Attende quod hec rationes omnes non tantum probant Deum decere humanitatem assumere, set etiam quod siue homo peccasset siue numquam peccasset quod eum facere decuisset."

"The Lord will make a consummation and an abridgment" (Is 10:23) in the mountain, that is the Virgin, who is the mountain in which God has chosen to dwell (cf. Ps 67:17). [lines 19-21]

Grosseteste's interpretation of God's "consummation and abridgment" as a reference to the Incarnation hearkens back to his *Hexaemeron*.⁵⁵ In the *questio* he adds that the consummation will take place in a "mountain," which is the Virgin Mary, to whom he next proceeds to apply another familiar scriptural text:

And in the book of Wisdom (Prov 31:10) it is said . . . "Who can find a strong woman? Her value by far surpasses all bounds" (*Procul et de vltimis finibus precium eius*). This strong woman is the most blessed Virgin; the bounds (*vltimi fines*) are God, the beginning, and man, the last created being. When these bounds were joined together at the time of the Incarnation, the universe was completed. And so, according to the aforesaid Bishop Robert, if the universe had to achieve completion, it was necessary that the Son of God be made flesh, even if Adam had not sinned. [lines 21-28]

To emphasize the importance of the "prophecy" in Proverbs, Grosseteste appends a six-line poem to memorialize it:

As a gift of mercy the Trinity ordained that the divine nature be joined to mankind by an incarnate bond. And thus did Creation's bounds (*fines vltimi*) grant from afar a reward (*precium*) only to a virgin delivering a Son. By embracing all things he completed the circle and by his own death destroyed death's claim.⁵⁶ [lines 35-40]

It would be difficult to find a more elegant or pithy summation of Grosseteste's doctrine. The Trinity decided to unite God with Man through the Incarnation. This was accomplished when the extremes of the universe—God and Man—were brought together in the Virgin's womb. The Son whom Mary bore not only destroyed the power of death, introduced through sin into the world, but also consummated creation by bringing together in perfect (circular) union its two extremes. The former act was necessary only because of Adam's sin, but the latter would have been necessary (or at least fitting) even if Adam had not sinned.

Such a poem has little place in a scholastic *questio*, but its direct reference to lines 21-28 of the text and its survival in both manuscript copies of the

⁵⁵ See pp. 96-97 above.

⁵⁶ This poem has apparently never been published, and it is not listed in the standard repertories of medieval poems or hymns. It is introduced by the words "Vnde prosa," indicating that a piece of rhymed (not quantitative) verse is to follow. A third copy of the poem is on fol. 110r of the Royal manuscript (our MS R), along with a third copy of the previously published poem "O enixa" (edited in Appendix C below, lines 41-49).

questio persuade us that it was originally part of this work, having been introduced, perhaps, as a summation in rhyme. Or perhaps we should see in this poem the bishop's tacit recognition that the *sensus fidelium* is as important as theological argument for the development and teaching of doctrine.⁵⁷ The second poem in this *questio* (lines 41-49) is less remarkable in its doctrinal content. It has been edited previously from another copy in Royal 7.A.vi.⁵⁸

In one manuscript of the *questio*, Add. 59839, there is a quotation from a sermon of Pope Leo I expressing an opinion (lines 28-34) contrary to Grosseteste's conclusion that the Son of God would have become incarnate even if Adam had not sinned. Leo asserts that if man had not sinned, the Creator would not have become a creature. This unambiguous statement by one of the Church's most authoritative teachers is precisely the kind of argument that Grosseteste earlier claimed not to have found in his own research.⁵⁹ The quotation has been inserted awkwardly into the text of the *questio* immediately before the words "etiam si Adam non peccasset," conveying the impression that the pope was also the author of that crucial phrase. Yet the scribe of Add. 59839 continues, without pause, to record the verses summarizing Grosseteste's argument that the Son of God would have become flesh even if Adam had not sinned (lines 35-40). Perhaps this quotation was added in the margin of an earlier manuscript, either by a student or by Grosseteste himself, and then carelessly incorporated into the copy now known as Add. 59839. It is difficult to believe that Grosseteste, had he been familiar with this passage, would have failed to respond to the challenge it offers.

⁵⁷ Grosseteste is known to have written another Marian poem and to have recommended its recitation in his diocese. The following text, on fols. 86r-87r of a small fourteenth-century prayer book that is now Add. B.3 in the Bodleian Library, Oxford, was brought to our attention by Fr. Servus Gieben: "Hanc antiphonam cum oratione sequente composuit Dominus Robertus Lincolnensis episcopus, concedens omnibus eam dicentibus in laudem beate marie XL dies venie. Antiphona: / Ave regina angelorum et archangelorum domina, / laus et gloria sanctorum et totius trinitatis nobile triclinium, / Tu innocens plus quam te genuisti, / Tu, munda mundi, mundo mundi salvatorem protulisti. / Propter plagas Ihesu Christi / quas cruentas flens vidisti, / pro nostra magna miseria / ora plena misericordia. / Virgo Dei mater dulcissima, / fac nos dignos te videre / et videndo te gaudere / In perheni seculorum tempore. Ave Maria. / Omnipotens sempiterne Deus, qui divina Gabrielis salutatione, sanctaque filii tui domini nostri Ihesu Christi nativitate, oblatione, apparicione, ascensione, Spiritus Sancti missione, suaque gloriosa assumptione, sancte Marie semper virginis gaudia cumulasti, presta quesumus, ut eius meritis et precibus ab omni specie doloris liberemur, et sempiternis gaudiis perfrui mereamur. Per eundem Christum dominum nostrum. Amen."

⁵⁸ Guido Maria Dreves, *Analecta hymnica medii aevi* 32 (Leipzig, 1899), 145-46.

⁵⁹ See nn. 28 and 30 above.

On the other hand, the last six lines (50-55), extant in both copies of the *questio*, may be an attempt by Grosseteste (or someone else) to offer just such a response. Here it is noted that “incarnation” is both an action and a passion. If understood as an action, God’s Son would have been made flesh even if Adam had not sinned. If interpreted as a passion, as in Leo’s sermon (cf. lines 29-34), then it is only because of sin that God would endure such suffering. The same distinction between action and passion is then applied, by way of example, to the *spiracio* of the Holy Spirit.

It is unfortunate that this *questio* is so brief and its manuscript tradition so tenuous. We would like to know more about the development and dissemination of Grosseteste’s teachings on the “necessity” of the Incarnation, but this little treatise, addressed, it would seem, to a relatively unsophisticated audience, summarizes one of his most characteristic and influential teachings, and makes suggestive reading in the light of his other writings on the subject. Despite its brief compass, it adds a new dimension to his argument by drawing attention, in poetry and prose, to the Virgin Mary’s role in the completion of the universe.

APPENDIX A

Contents of London, British Library Add. 59839

A full description of this codex, a theological miscellany that was formerly Phillipps 9328, has not yet been prepared and published by the British Library’s Department of Manuscripts, and the only detailed account of it now available is that in Sotheby’s sale catalogue of 30 November 1976 (lot 863). This provides an accurate collation and other useful codicological information, as well as a very selective list of *contenta*. A note of ownership on fol. 217r of the manuscript reads “Habui librum istum de vicario de Gauyltoun et ipse librum habuit in pertinenciis.”

Add. 59839 was written in England in the late thirteenth or early fourteenth century by three or four scribes with very similar hands. Its contents were divided into numbered sections or units, each containing one or more works. In the following description of the volume’s contents, references to these individual sections have been retained, and rubrics in the manuscript have been printed within square brackets.

Fol. i: paper flyleaf.

Fols. 1-2: parchment flyleaves, from a treatise on legal procedures, bound upside down. It begins imperfectly: "Set propter aliquam causam inique actori noceat. . . ."

Sections 1 and 2 are missing.

Section no. 3

Fols. 3-4 (a single sheet): Theological definitions of "modestia," "verecundia," "abstinentia," etc., notes, and some eighteen poems. Twelve of the poems are from the "biblical epigrams" of Hildebert of Le Mans. See A. B. Scott, Deirdre F. Baker, and A. G. Rigg, "The *Biblical Epigrams* of Hildebert of Le Mans: A Critical Edition," *Mediaeval Studies* 47 (1985): 272-316. The poems numbered 1, 2, 10, 23, 26, 29, 30, 41, 42, 50, 52, and 53 are found here.

Fol. 5r (bears the date 1369 at top): Notes on the sacraments, with references to Lombard's *Sentences*.

Section no. 4

Fol. 5v: Twelve theological and canonical notes. "Si quis episcopus sue ciuitatis mediocritate despecta. . . ."

Section no. 5

Fols. 6r-13v: The *Lignum vitae* of St. Bonaventure. "Christo crucifixus sum cruci. . . . decus et imperium per infinita seculorum secula. Amen. Explicit tractatus fratris Bonaventure de ordine minorum cardinalis ecclesie sancte romane de ligna uite." Printed in *S. Bonaventurae Opera omnia*, 10 vols. (Quaracchi, 1882-1902), 8:68-86. Bonaventure was appointed a cardinal in 1273 and died in 1274.

Fol. 13v: Two linguistic notes, one ascribed to Isidore.

Section no. 6

Fols. 14r-51v: The *Breviloquium* of St. Bonaventure. ["Incipit tractatus fratris Bonaventure de ordine minorum cardinalis ecclesie sancte romane scilicet flecto genua mea."] "Flecto genua mea. . . . qui est trinus et unus benedictus in secula seculorum. Amen. Explicit Liber." Printed in *S. Bonaventurae Opera omnia* 5:201-91.

Fol. 51v: Robert Grosseteste on the completion of the universe. Printed below in Appendix C.

Section no. 7

Fols. 52r-64v: The *Synonyma* of St. Isidore of Seville. ["Incipit prologus soliloquorum ysidori archiepiscopi."] "Venit nuper ad manus meas. . . . vitam meam places in secula seculorum. Amen. Explicit." Printed in PL 83:827-68.

Section no. 8

Fols. 65r-67r: ["Visio beati Bernardi Abbatis."] "Quis dabit capiti meo aquam et oculis meis ymbrem. . . . Benedicti sint qui diligunt eam et super omnia benedictus sit eius Filius qui . . . uiuit et regnat in secula seculorum. Amen." Cf. M. W. Bloomfield et al., *Incipits of Latin Works on the Virtues and Vices, 1100-1500 A.D.* (Cambridge, Mass., 1979), no. 4839.

Fol. 67r: Excerpt from a sermon "ad monachos" of Caesarius of Arles. "Cesarius episcopus ad monachos. Nichil reprehendas, nichil despicias (*rect. discutias*), in nullo penitus murmurare presumas. . . . Ita isti humiles et benigni dupplicem gloriam consequuntur." See *Sancti Caesarii Arelatensis Sermones*, ed. G. Morin, vol. 2, CCL 104 (Turnhout, 1953), *sermo* 233.6, pp. 928-29.

Section no. 9

Fols. 67v-99r: A collection of biblical authorities organized under 116 topical headings, with a table of contents on fol. 67v. Chapter 1 is "De vitando prauorum consorcio"; chapter 116, "De duricia peccati." The text begins: "De uitando prauorum consorcio et colloquio. Beatus uir qui non abiit, etc."

Section no. 10 ("X")

Fols. 99r-102r: Notes, distinctions, and quaestions on virtues, vices, sacraments, etc. "De dulia et latria. Latria est reuerentia et seruitus Deo exhibitus. . . ." The last item, listing the seven gifts of the glorified body and soul, begins: "Hec conueniunt in celo."

Section no. 11 ("XI")

Fols. 102v-103v: The *De ortu et tempore antichristi* of Adso of Montier-en-Der. "De antichristo scire uolentes. . . . iudicandum esse prefixit." Printed in PL 40:1131-34.

Fol. 103v: Notes and distinctions on "Disciplina," "Ecclesia uel anima," "Obliuisci debemus," "Homo peccat," "Sacerdotes desistunt predicare," "Humilitas," and "Ira."

Section no. 12

Fols. 104r-106v: The *Declaratio terminorum theologiae*, a selection of excerpts from the writings of St. Bonaventure, ascribed here to Bede. ["Incipit libellus Bede presbiter de membris humanis et motibus anime que in Deo describuntur."] "Omnipotens Deus Pater. . . se manifestum demonstrare. Explicit Liber." Printed in PL 42:1199-1206; cf. Balduinus Distelbrink, *Bonaventurae Scripta: Authentica dubia vel spuria critice recensita* (Rome, 1975), 130.

Section no. 13

Fols. 106v-107r: A pseudo-Augustinian prayer and meditation. ["Oratio et meditatio sancti Augustini episcopi et doctoris."] "Aspice pie pater. . . per dominum nostrum Jesum Christum." Printed in PL 40:905-8.

Fol. 107v: A meditation of Anselm. ["Meditatio beati Anselmi."] "Terret me tota uita mea. . . per interminata secula. Amen." Printed in PL 158:722-25.

Section no. 14

Fols. 108r-117r: Pseudo-Bernard, "Meditations." ["Incipiunt meditationes Bernardi Abbatis."] "Multi multa sciunt et seipsos nesciunt. . . et omni populo amabilis appareas. Explicit." Printed in PL 184:485-508; see R. Bultot, "Les 'Meditaciones' Pseudo-Bernardines sur la connaissance de la condition humaine," *Sacris erudiri* 15 (1964): 256-92.

Section no. 15

Fols. 117r-118r: A parable of St. Bernard on faith, hope, and charity. "Rex nobilis et potens tres filias habuit, fidem, spem, et caritatem. . . nisi custodierit ciuitatem, etc." Printed in PL 183:770-72.

Fol. 118r: Two linguistic notes, one ascribed to Huguccio.

Section no. 16

Fols. 118v-124v: Hugh of St. Cher, on the Mass. ["Incipit quidam tractatus misse."] "Dicit Apostolus ad eph. vi. . . in bonis operibus." Printed in *Hugonis a St. Charo Tractatus super missam seu speculum ecclesiae*, ed. Gisbertus Sölch, *Opuscula et textus, series liturgica* 9 (Münster i. W., 1940).

Fols. 124v-125r: Notes and questions on the Mass: 1) "Utrum sacerdos minus quam duobus presentibus debet celebrare. . ." 2) A diagram of the various signs of the cross made during the Mass: "Primo cum dicitur 'hec dona. . .'" 3) "Si per negligentiam euenerit, quod absit, ut missam cantans panem aut uinum oblitus. . ."

Section no. 17

Fol. 125v-126r: Robert Grosseteste, on the Canon of the Mass. Printed below in Appendix B.

Fol. 126r: Excerpts from the table accompanying Robert Grosseteste's visitation-articles. See above, p. 90 and n. 4.

Fol. 126r: Notes "on the names of ecclesiastical instruments." See above, p. 90. "Dicendum est de nominibus instrumentorum ecclesie. Vestibulum et porticus et vestitium idem sunt. Dicitur autem vestibulum domus ante ecclesiam, et dicitur a *ve* quod est malum, et *sto stas*, quia malum est ibi stare et non ulterius procedere. Item ab introitu ecclesie vsque ad altare dicitur sancta sanctorum. Cancelli dicuntur quoniam ecclesia facta est in modum crucis. . . . Pentecostes dicitur a *pento* quod est quinque et *costes* quod est decem."

Fol. 126r: A note on the Eucharist, written in lighter ink. "4 Sent. D. xi. P. Panis enim ad carnem refertur. . . . post consecracionem non nisi sanguis bibitur quia aqua in sanguine vertitur."

Section no. 18

Fols. 126v-128v: An extract from the *Speculum de mysteriis ecclesie* of Pseudo-Hugh of St. Victor. "De ordinibus et uestimentis clericorum. Nunc videamus de septem ordinibus clericorum. . . . Item abdicare idem est quod negare. Explicit." Printed in PL 177:349-52.

Section no. 19

Fols. 129r-131v: Extracts from (or notes for) a commentary on Peter Lombard, 2 *Sent.* 1-19. "Responsum. Deus filium suum, factum ex muliere, factum sub lege, etc. Contra dicitur in cimbolis, genitum non factum. . . ."

Fol. 131v: A list of prophetic warnings ("woes") from the Old Testament. "Ysay. v: Ve qui coniungitis domum ad domum. . . ."

Section no. 20

Fols. 132r-139r: A set of theological distinctions in alphabetical order, "Angelus," "Anulus," "Ancilla," etc. to "Uolatile." "Angelus purus est in natura, fidelis in custodiendo. . . ." This corresponds to none of the better-known collections of distinctions; see André Wilmart, "Un répertoire d'exégèse composé en Angleterre vers le début du XIII^e siècle," *Mémorial Lagrange* (Paris, 1940), 335-46.

Section no. 21

Fols. 139v-141r: Theological extracts (from Ambrose, Anselm, Augustine, Bede, Bernard, Gregory, Jerome, etc.), and magisterial comments (e.g., “Quando queritur quod sit fomes peccati, notandum est quod dicit Glosa super illud ad Romanos vii: Iam ego non operor illud . . .”; “Queritur vtrum Christus diligendus sit tantum quia est homo, quantum quia est Deus . . .”).

Section no. 22

Fol. 141v: A brief treatise on alms. “De elemosina. Dominus in ewangelio: Date elemosinam et ecce omnia munda sunt vobis. Videte que possedetis et date elemosinam. . . . Set tanquam patronis munera offerimus.”

Section no. 23

Fol. 142r-v: A treatise or sermon on penance. Begins imperfectly (loss of a leaf): “. . . quia quid datam aut quid respondebo tibi cum ipse fecerim hoc. . . . nos defendat ille qui cum Pater et Spiritu sancto, etc.”

Fol. 142v: Brief theological comments and extracts from Gregory and Augustine.

Sections 24 to 28 are missing (loss of one or more gatherings).

Section no. 29

Fols. 143r-150v: The *Floriarium Bartholomei*. “Gratias ago gratie largitori qui gratanter auditis ea que edificant ad salutem. . . . prestare dignetur altissimi Filius Iesus Christus qui cum Patre et Spiritu sancto triumphat et regnat per omnia secula seculorum. Amen. Explicit Liber.” See Bloomfield, *Incipits*, nos. 2250 and 3685.

Section no. 30

Fols. 150v-151r: A pseudo-Augustinian sermon. [“Sermo Augustini de eo quod nichil mundi, et de penis impiorum, et de iustis qui in uita misericordiam faciunt.”] “Apostolica lectio fratres karissimi hanc sonitum reddidit. . . . cui honor et gloria in secula seculorum. Amen.” Printed in PL 40:1341-42.

Fol. 151r: Two theological notes, the first ascribed to Gregory.

Section no. 31

Fol. 151v: An anonymous confessional formula. “Quando ad confessionem veneris, huiusmodi si placet uerte uerbis addens uel minuens que hic

proponam prout senseris te uel plus uel minus excessisse in talibus. Multa cogito ociosa, et decurrit animus meus per loca diuersa, per castella, per scolas, per conuentus, et his meror cum delector, cum diuinis officiis intersum, uel cum Psalmis uel lectioni intendere debuisssem. . . . Confiteor Deo et beate Marie et omnibus sanctis et tibi Pater, etc.” Cf. Bloomfield, *Incipits*, no. 4383.

Fol. 151v: A note on confession. “Confidendum(!) est an peccatum sit ueniale an mortale, publicum an occultum, scienter aut nescienter commissum. . . .”

Fol. 152r: Philosophical and theological notes, apparently from an alphabetical *summa*, describing “Mulier bona,” “Meretrix,” “Menstruosa,” and “Obsonritas”(?). The last is a medical term whose definition begins: “Propter nimiam frigiditatem congelatus sanguis circa cor. . . .” Authorities quoted include Gregory, Secundus philosophus, and a *Glosa super Bo<ethium>*.

Fols. 152v-154r: A sermon; perhaps a *principium* or opening address for a course of theological lectures in the schools. “Spiritu sancto modulante scriptura sacra depromitur qua illuminante semper uirtutis illius disciplina suauitas et benignitas aperitur. . . . et postmodum egredi, digna uirtutum operamina predicando. Amen. Explicit.”

Section no. 32

Fols. 154r-155v: A treatise on oaths. [“Incipit tractatus compendiosus de uerbis Domini sacracioribus et secretissimis et de quibusdam occultis misteriis sub sacramentis iurisiurandi dominicis coopertis, atque de septiformis eorum diuersitatibus tam in diuinis sensibus quam in humanis intellectibus accipiendis.”] “Verbi dominici sacraciora misteria omnia secretiora penitrent sacramenta. . . . cum illo sublimari perpetuo promeribitur. Amen.”

Section no. 33

Fols. 155v-156v: A similar treatise, on oaths and vows. [“Item alius de diuersis diuini uerbi intellectibus sub unius uerbi enunciacione. Incipi(!) proemium de affectibus paris uoti desiderio condiligencium et qualis diligencium debeat esse deuocio in alterutrum sese pari voto coamplectencium.”] “Quanta sit diligencium. . . . nobis ea remittendo reconsingnare studeatis. Explicit. Amen.”

Section no. 34

Fols. 157r-163v: Pseudo-Augustine, *De spiritu et anima*. [“Incipit liber Augustini de spiritu et anima.”] “Quoniam dictum est mihi. . . . aliud quam ratio non sit.” Printed in PL 40:779-803. This copy breaks off in c. 33.

Section no. 35

Fols. 163v-166v: Notes on the sacraments, didactic poems (one ascribed to Hildebert of Le Mans), and other theological notes, quoting Augustine, Anselm, Bede, Bernard, Gregory, Isidore, John Chrysostom, and Peter of Ravenna.

Sections 36 and 37 are missing (loss of one or more gatherings).

Section no. 38

Fols. 167r-177v: A commentary on Romans. "Iesus Latino eloquio saluator siue salutaris interpretatur cuius nominis ethimologiam exponens angelus dixit. . . . uel eciam in breue tempore et uelociter." Not listed in F. Stegmüller, *Repertorium Biblicum Medii Aevi*, 11 vols. (Madrid, 1950-80). The first lines of the commentary may have been written in the preceding (lost) quire.

Fols. 177v-178v: Diverse notes, including a quotation from Gregory, an interpretation of the letters of the Hebrew alphabet, a comment on Peter Lombard, 2 *Sent.* 24, and a note on the four senses of Scripture.

Fols. 178v-183r: A commentary on 1 Corinthians. "Explicit ad Romanos. Incipit ad Chorinthyos. 'Qui et confirmabit nos' (1 Cor 1:8) id est roborabit in sua fide et in bonis operibus. . . ." The last lemma is 1 Cor 11:34: "'Si quis esurit domi manducet' . . . percipiat ad dampnationem vestram." Not in Stegmüller, *Repertorium Biblicum*.

Section no. 39

Fols. 183v-189r: Sixteen theological questions. (1) "Vtrum peccatum sit pena peccati." (2) "Vtrum intencio sine bonis operibus sufficit ad promerendum vitam eternam." (3) "Vtrum originale peccatum sit ignorancia." (4) "Vtrum anima inficiatur a carne." (5) "Vtrum teneatur ad omne id quod dictat consciencia." (6) "Vtrum synderesis sit in genere cognitionis uel affectionis." (7) "Vtrum peccatum operis addat supra peccatum voluntatis." (8) "Vtrum peccatum originale sit concupiscencia." (9) "Vtrum creacio dicat mutacionem aliquam." (10) "Vtrum creacio medium dicat inter creatorem et creaturam." (11) "Vtrum substancie spirituales sint in loco corporeo." (12) "Vtrum Lucifer fuerit de suppremo ordine." (13) "Vtrum gracia gratum faciens et virtus gratuita differunt per essenciam." (14) "Vtrum gracia et gloria differunt per essenciam." (15) "Vtrum omne opus quod fit bona intencione sit bonum." (16) "Vtrum omne peccatum veniale sit voluntarium."

Fol. 189v: A note on prayer. "Dom. i. b. Gracias ago Deo meo pro omnibus vobis. Agere gracias est sentire omnia ab eo data. . . ."

Fol. 190r (completed on fol. 189v): Part of a treatise on light. "Item ad principale. Sicut se habet lux corporalis ad potenciam materiale, sic lux increata ad potenciam spiritualem. . . ."

Fol. 190v: Notes on Rom 13:11 ("Hora est iam nos de sompno surgere") and Prov 2:6 ("Ex ore Dei sciencia et prudencia").

Section no. 40

Fols. 190v-191r: Three prayers. The first, against fevers, is in Anglo-Norman; the second, against epilepsy, and the third are in Latin. "Contra febres. Primes dirrez treis pater noster . . ."; "Contra morbum caducem . . ."; "Miser memoriam perditte, prioris vbertatis, in patria sub stipite. Set heu quo tendam tramite. . . . Amen. Amen."

Section no. 41

Fols. 191v-193v: The "Prophecies of Merlin" or "Prophecy of the Six Kings," in Anglo-Norman prose. ["Les prophecies Merlyn du Roys lengleterre."] "En ceste roule vous poetz regarder et savoir ascunes des prophesies et des merveilles. . . . hors de lour heritage." Edward II (the "Goat of Carnarvon") is the latest king to be identified, giving a *terminus post quem* of 1307 for this part of the manuscript. Selections are printed in T. M. Smallwood, "The Prophecy of the Six Kings," *Speculum* 60 (1985): 581-84.

Fols. 194r-195r: An Anglo-Norman verse-treatise on morals and manners. ["Ici poetz oyer coment luy sage son fuiz aprent."] "Ky cest escrit voudra entendre. . . . Que faire puisset son pleyser." Edited in H. Rosamond Parsons, "Anglo-Norman Books of Courtesy and Nurture," *Proceedings of the Modern Language Association* 44 (1929): 383-455.

Fols. 195v-196r: An algorithmic treatise and tables. "Per istam tabulam sciatur absens de tribus rebus. . . . Capiantur xxiiij lapides. . . ." Fols. 196v-211r: The *Enchiridion* of St. Augustine. ["Aurelii Augustini doctoris Incipit liber Encherideon ad laurencium."] "Dici non potest. . . . spei caritate conscripsi." ["Explicit libellus Aurelii Augustini doctoris Iponensis episcopi que dicitur Encherideon. Incipit capitula eiusdem libelli, secundum ueterem capitulacionem."] A table listing 121 chapters is on fols. 210v-211r. Printed in PL 40:231-88.

Section no. 42

Fols. 211v-212r: Short notes on the Resurrection of Christ and his appearance to the Apostles.

Section no. 43

Fols. 212v-216v: The pseudo-Bonaventuran *Ars concionandi*. "Omnis tradicio scripturarum ut dicit Augustinus. . . ." Printed in *S. Bonaventurae Opera omnia* 9:8-21; cf. Distelbrink, *Bonaventurae Scripta*, 95.

Fol. 217r: A treatise on logical fallacies. "Vt dicit Aristoteles in Libro elenchorum, quatuor sunt genera disputationum. . . . et sic est ars." See L. M. de Rijk, *Logica Modernorum: A Contribution to the History of Early Terminist Logic*, vol. 2, pt. 1 (Assen, 1967), 614.

Section no. 44

Fols. 217v-218v: Theological questions and notes. "Vtrum serui teneantur subiaceret tyrannis in aliquibus. . . . Vtrum religiosi teneantur prelatis suis obedire in omnibus que non sunt contra Deum. . . . Quare non sunt aues que sunt collocate in aere sitem sicut pisces de aqua et bestie pariter de terra. . . ."

Fols. 219-221: flyleaves corresponding to fols. 1-3 above.

APPENDIX B

Expositio canonis misse

For this edition the editors have transcribed the text preserved on fols. 125v-126r of London, British Library Add. 59839, silently expanding all abbreviations. The orthography of this unique witness to the text has been retained without exception, but punctuation and capitalization are in accord with modern taste and convenience. For ease of reference, the text has been divided into numbered sections and line numbers have been supplied. It has also been printed in a single column, on the right of each page, to permit comparison with the full text of the Canon of the Mass of which Grosseteste's work is a commentary. The text of the Canon printed in the left-hand column of each page has been reproduced from *The Sarum Missal*, ed. J. Wickham Legg (Oxford, 1916), 221-24, but section numbers have been supplied by the editors, inverted semicolons have been rendered as semicolons and crosses as plus signs, and ellipsis has been inserted where instructions to the priest in Legg's edition have been omitted. Parentheses enclose an indication of change of folio in Add. 59839 and the biblical

sources of the author's citations. Angle brackets surround letters and words in the *exposicio* supplied by the editors, and they also enclose the plus sign, <+>, inserted to indicate when the sign of the cross was to be made by the priest during his recitation of the Canon. Square brackets enclose letters that are to be disregarded, including one in line 91, where the text's "dileccionem" is to be read as "dilecionem," i.e., "deletionem." Ellipsis has been used when necessary to indicate where words in the Canon have been omitted in the *exposicio*. Italic type is used in both columns of text to highlight the words of the Canon for which the *exposicio* provides a commentary.

An apparatus, keyed by line to the text of the *exposicio*, is intended to refer the reader to parallel passages in the *De missarum mysteriis* of Lothar of Segni (Pope Innocent III). This work is printed in PL 217:773-916 under the title *De sacro altaris mysterio*, and a critical edition of bks. 2-3 and 5-6 has been produced as an unpublished Ph.D. dissertation (Notre Dame, Indiana, 1977) by David Frank Wright: "A Medieval Commentary on the Mass: *Particulae* 2-3 and 5-6 of the *De missarum mysteriis* (ca. 1195) of Cardinal Lothar of Segni (Pope Innocent III)." References in the apparatus below cite first the line numbers and lemma of Grosseteste's text, then the book and chapter of Innocent's treatise in which identical or nearly identical phrases are used, and finally the column number in the PL edition. For example, the first entry reads: "10-13, Pluraliter . . . sacramentum: 3.3, 842B." This indicates that lines 10 to 13 of Grosseteste's text ("Pluraliter dicitur *dona*, scilicet propter diuersas species, cum vnum tamen sit sacramentum") should be compared with bk. 3, chap. 3, of Innocent III's treatise, printed in PL 217:842B. There one finds the words: "Dicuntur autem pluraliter *dona* . . . quia panis et vinum antequam consecrentur, et diversae sunt species substantiarum, et diversae specierum substantiae. Sed ubi consecratio coelestis accesserit, species quidem remanent, sed substantiae convertuntur, ita quo diversa sunt continentia, sed unicum est contentum. Nam idem sub utraque specie continetur. . . ."

CANON MISSE

EXPOSICIO <CANONIS>
MISSE R<OBERTI>
E<PISCOPI> LINCOLNIENSIS

1. *TE IGITVR CLEMENTISSIME PATER* per ihesum christum filium tuum dominum nostrum supplices rogamus ac petimus *uti accepta* habeas et benedicas. *Hec + dona. Hec + munera. Hec +*

1. *Te igitur, clementissime Pater: ad Patrem dirigitur sermo propter auctoritatem principii, quia ipse est principium Filii et principium Spiritus Sancti. Vti: pro vt. Accepta: grata. Hec <+> munera,*

sancta sacrificia illibata. In primis que tibi offerimus *pro ecclesia tua sancta catholica.* quam *pacificare. custodire. adunare. et regere* digneris toto orbe terrarum una cum famulo tuo papa nostro. N. et antistite nostro. N. et rege nostro. N. et omnibus *orthodoxis* atque catholice et apostolice fidei cultoribus.

hec <+> dona, hec <+> sancta sacrificia illibata, id est non gustata. Pluraliter dicitur *dona,* scilicet propter diuersas species, cum vnum tamen sit sacramentum. Hee tres cruces trinam Christi traditionem significant: tradidit Deus Christum, filium suum, secundum illud: "Proprio filio suo non pepercit Deus, set pro nobis omnibus tradidit illum" (Rom 8:32); tradidit Iudas illum, secundum illud: "Querebat oportunitatem vt eum morti traderet" (Lc 22:6); tradidit Iudeus, secundum illud: "Gens tua et pontifices tradiderunt te mihi" (Jo 18:35). Prima tradicio fuit ex gracia, secunda ex auaricia, tertia ex inuidia. Fiunt ergo tres cruces propter trinam traditionem, uel ad trinitatem potest totum referri, que tota tradidit Christum in mortem secundum hoc. *Donum* est Patris dantis; *munus* est Spiritus accipientis, per quem oblatus est Christus; *sacrificium* est Filii seipsum offerentis. Singuli tamen dederunt, acceperunt, optulerunt. *In primis,* id est principaliter; *pro Ecclesia tua sancta catholica,* id est vniuersali toto orbe diffusa. *Pacificare:* contra hereticos; *custodire:* a viciis; *adunare:* contra paganos; *et regere:* in prosperis et aduersis. *Orthodoxis,* id est recte gloriantibus, qui Deum recte fidei confessione glorificant.

2. *Memento* domine famulorum famularumque tuarum. N. et N. et omnium circumstancium quorum tibi fides cognita est *et nota deuocio.* pro quibus tibi offerimus uel qui tibi offerunt hoc *sacrificium laudis* pro se suisque omnibus *pro redemptione* animarum suarum. *pro spe*

2. *Memento:* hic est locus recensendi nomina viuorum, pro quibus sacerdos vlt specialiter orare. In sequentibus erit locus pro defunctis memoriam facere. Cum Deus nihil ignoret, nihil obliuiscatur, quare dicitur *Memento, Domine?* Cum dicimus *Memento,* petimus ut nos-

10-13 Pluraliter . . . sacramentum: 3.3, 842B.
841A-C. 24-32 Fiunt . . . optulerunt: 3.3, 841D.
843D. 38-39 *Orthodoxis* . . . glorificant: 3.5, 844C.
845A. 44-51 Cum Deus . . . diligunt: 3.6, 845B, C.

13-24 Hee tres . . . inuidia: 3.3,
32-37 *In primis* . . . aduersis: 3.5,
40-43 *Memento* . . . facere: 3.6,

salutis et incolumitatis sue tibi reddunt
uota sua eterno deo uiuo et uero.

tri misereatur, secundum illud: "Remi-
 niscere miserationum tuarum" (Ps 24:6),
 etc.; *et nota*[ta] est *deuocio*, vt misereatur
 illorum qui recte credunt et deuote Chris- 50
 tum diligunt. *Sacrificium* sacri *laudis*
 dicitur, quia merito eum laudare debe-
 mus, quia seipsum dedit pro nobis in
 precium et in cibum, vt per precium
 redimeret nos a morte, per cibum aleret 55
 nos ad vitam. *Pro redempcione*, id est
 pro remissione peccatorum, et non pro
 temporali lucro. *Pro spe salutis*, id est
 pro salute, *et incolumitatis*, id est inco-
 lumbitate s[e]perata. Salus autem ad men- 60
 tem, incolumitas ad corpus debet referri.
Vota sua: in baptis[s]mo emissa. *Eterno*
Deo: trinitas—Patri, vnitas siue ueri-
 tas—Filio, vita—Spiritu Sancto.

3. *Communicantes* et memoriam *uene-*
rantes imprimis gloriose semper uirginis
 marie genitricis dei et domini nostri ihesu
 christi. Sed et beatorum apostolorum ac
 martyrum tuorum. Petri. Pauli. Andree.
 IacoBi. Iohannis. Thome. Iacobi. Phi-
 lippi. Bartholomei. Mathei. Simonis et
 thadei. Lini Cleti. Clementis. Syxti Cor-
 nelii. Cypriani. Laurencii. Grisogoni. Io-
 hannis et pauli. Cosme et Damiani. et
 omnium sanctorum tuorum. Quorum
 meritis precibusque concedas; ut in om-
 nibus protectionis tue muniamur auxilio.
 per eundem christum dominum nostrum.
 Amen.

3. *Communicantes*: sanctis communica- 65
 mus hic in vita, per fidem quam habu-
 erunt et nos habemus, et in patria par-
 ticipabimus; ideo sanctorum memorie
 communicamus in sacrificio, quatinus in
 communicacione sanctorum sacrificium 70
 offeramus. *Venerantes*: ideo vt eorum
 meritis de fide perducamur ad spem.

4. Hanc igitur oblacionem seruitutis nos-
 tre. sed et cuncte familie tue Quesumus
 domine ut placatus accipias. diesque nos-
 tros *in tua pace* disponas. atque *ab*

4. *In tua pace*: per illum qui traditus est
 in manus illorum qui oderunt pacem; *ab*
eterna: per illum qui pro nobis damp- 75
 natus est morte temporali; *et in electo-*

51-56 *Sacrificium* . . . vitam: 3.6, 846A.
 62-64 *Eterno* . . . Sancto: 3.8, 847C-D.
 73-78 *In tua* . . . iniquis: 3.11, 850A.

56-61 *Pro redempcione* . . . referri: 3.7, 846B.
 65-72 *Communicantes* . . . spem: 3.9, 848B, C.

eterna dampnacione nos eripi; *et in electorum* tuorum iubeas grege numerari. per christum dominum. n[ost]rum]. Amen.

5. *Quam oblacionem* tu deus in omnibus quesumus. *Bene+dictam Ascrip+tam Ra+tam. rationabilem acceptabilemque* facere digneris. *ut* nobis *cor+pus et san+guis fiat* dilectissimi filii tui domini nostri ihesu christi. . . .

rum: per eum qui pro nobis dampnatus est cum iniquis.

5. *Quam oblacionem . . . bene<+>-dictam*: per quam in celestibus nos benedicas; *ascrip<+>tam*: per quam nos inter electos ascribas; *ra<+>tam*: per quam ratum nostre salutis promissum sit; *rationabilem*: per quam rationabile sit nostre servitutis obsequium; *acceptabilem*: per quam nos reddas acceptos. Hic fiunt tres cruces ad significandum precium triginta denariorum pro quibus venditus fuit Dominus. Item vnde hoc opponitur malediccione Iude. *Ascriptam*: hoc est dilec[t]ionem de libro iusticie; *ratam*: hoc dignitati perdit; *rationabilem*: hoc oracioni facere in peccato; *acceptum*: hoc reddicionem malorum pro bonis. *Corpus et Sanguis* rationabilis, non pecualis et legalis, qui fuit taurorum et vitulorum; et secundum hoc recte subiunxit *ut . . . fiat Cor<+>pus et San<+>guis*, etc. Hic fiunt due cruces ad notandum ipsum venditorem et venditum. 100

6. *QVi pridie* quam pateretur accepit panem in sanctas ac uenerabiles manus suas. et eleuatis oculis in celum ad te deum patrem suum omnipotentem tibi gratias agens. *bene+dixit. . . . fregit. dedit* discipulis suis dicens. Accipite et

6 & 7. *Qui pridie . . . bene<+>dixit ac fregit . . . bene<+>dixit, dedit*: hee due cruces fiunt propter conuersionem panis in carnem et vinum in sanguinem. *Calix, continens pro contento, sanguinis mei*, 105 confirmator *noui testamenti*, noue et

79-86 *Quam . . . acceptos*: 3.12, 851B. (Note that a phrase has been omitted by *homoeoteleuton* from the PL text. Between the words "facere ascriptam" one should read "facere benedictam, per quam nos in caelestibus benedicas. Judas deletus est de libro viventium et cum iustis non scribetur, sed tu Deus hanc oblacionem facere digneris *ascriptam*." Cf. Wright's edition, p. 206.) 86-89 Hic fiunt . . . Dominus: 3.12, 851A. 89-94 Item . . . bonis: 3.12, 851B (see above at lines 79-86). 94-98 *Corpus . . . etc.*: 3.12, 852C. 98-100 Hic fiunt . . . venditum: 3.12, 851C-852A. 101-4 *benedixit . . . sanguinem*: cf. 5.14, 896A. 104-5 *Calix . . . contento*: 4.27, 875A. 105-7 *sanguinis . . . promissionis*: 4.28, 875C.

manducate ex hoc omnes. Hoc est enim corpus meum. . . .

7. Simili modo postea quam cenatum est accipiens et hunc preclarum calicem in sanctas ac uenerabiles manus suas. item tibi gracias agens bene+dixit dedit discipulis suis dicens. Accipite et bibite ex eo omnes. . . . Hic est enim *calix sanguinis mei noui et eterni testamenti. misterium fidei.* qui pro uobis *et pro multis* effundetur in remissionem peccatorum. hec quocienscumque feceritis; *in mei memoriam* facietis. . . .

8. *Unde* et memores domine nos tui serui. set et plebs tua sancta christi filii tui domini dei nostri beate passionis. nec non et ab inferis resurrectionis. set et in celos gloriose ascensionis; offerimus *preclare maiestati tue de tuis donis ac datis. Hostiam + puram. Hostiam + sanctam. Hostiam + immaculatam. Panem + sanctum* uite eterne. Et *cali+cem* salutis perpetue.

9. Supra que propicio ac sereno uultu respicere digneris. et accepta habere sicuti accepta habere dignatus es munera pueri tui iusti abel. et sacrificium patriarche nostri abrahe. et quod tibi optulit summus sacerdos tuus melchisedech sanctum sacrificium immaculatam hostiam. . . .

eterne promissionis. *Misterium fidei*, id est secretum fidei. *Et pro multis*, id est pro predestinatis, quantum ad efficienciam; pro omnibus, quantum ad sufficienciam. *In mei memoriam*, etc.: mortem meam ad memoriam reuocantes.

8. *Vnde . . . praeclare*, id est pre aliis clare, *maiestati tue*. <De tuis donis:> de frugibus segetum, quantum ad panem 115 qui consecratur in carnem; hoc est ad dona; <ac datis:> de frugibus arborum, quantum ad vinum quod in sanguinem conuertitur; hoc est ad munera. *Hostiam* <+> *puram*, quantum ad cogitacionem 120 sanctam; *hostiam* <+> *sanctam*, quantum ad locucionem immaculatam; *hostiam* <+> *uiuam*, quantum ad operacionem, quia peccatum non fecit nec inuentus est dolus in ore eius. *Panem* 125 <+> . . . <Cali> <+> <cem.> Hee quinque cruces quinque wlnera Christi significant.

108-11 *Et pro . . . sufficienciam*: 4.41, 882B. 111-12 *In mei . . . reuocantes*: 4.53, 883C.
113-25 *Vnde . . . eius*: 5.2, 888C. 125-28 *Panem . . . significant*: 5.1, 887B-C; 5.14, 896B.

10. Supplices te rogamus omnipotens deus iube *hec perferri per manus* sancti angeli tui in sullime altare tuum *in conspectu* diuine maiestatis tue. ut quot-quot. . . . ex hac altaris participatione sacrosanctum filii tui *cor+pus et sangui+nem* sumpserimus; omni benedic-tione celesti et gracia repleamur. per eundem christum dominum nostrum. Amen.

11. Memento eciam domine famulorum famularumque tuarum. N. et. N. qui nos precesserunt cum signo fidei et dormiunt in sompno pacis. Ipsi domine *et omnibus in christo quiescentibus* locum refrigerii lucis et pacis ut indulgeas deprecamur; per eundem. christum. d[omi-num]. n[ostrum]. Amen. . . .

12. Nobis quoque peccatoribus famulis tuis de multitudine miseracionum tuarum sperantibus partem aliquam et societatem donare digneris cum tuis sanctis apostolis et martyribus. cum Iohanne. Stephano. Mathia. Barnaba. Ignacio. Alexandro. Marcellino. Petro. Felicitate. Perpetua. Agatha. Lucia. Agnete. Cecilia. Anastasia. Et cum omnibus sanctis tuis. Intra quorum nos consorcium. non estimator meriti. set uenie quesumus largitor ad-mitte. per christum dominum. n[ostrum].

13. *Per quem* hec omnia domine semper bona *creas*. Sanctifi+cas. Viui+ficas. Bene+dicis. et prestas nobis. . . . *Per + ipsum. Et cum + ipso. Et in + ipso. Est tibi deo + patri* omnipotenti. *in unitate + spiritus sancti* omnis honor et glo-

10. *Hec uota fidelium preferri*, id est offerri, *per manus*, id est per preces 130 angeli, id est sacerdotis ad altare. Hoc in *conspectu[m]* (fol. 126r) etc. *Cor-<+>pus et San<+>guis*: hee due cruces significant vincula quibus ligatus fuit, et cruciatus quibus effusus est sanguis. 135

11. *Et omnibus in Christo quiescentibus*: hoc loco memoriam defunctorum de quibus voluerit debet facere.

13. *Per quem . . . creas*, condendo; *sanc-tifi<+>cas*, consecrando materiam; *viui-<+>ficas*, transsubstanciando creaturam; *bene<+>dicis*, accumulando gratiam. Hee tres cruces significant crucifixionem Christi, que hora tertia facta est li<n>gua 140

129-32 *Hec . . .* etc.: cf. 5.5, 891B. 132-35 *Corpus . . . sanguis*: 5.4, 890D; 5.14, 896B.
136-38 *Et omnibus . . .* facere: 5.5, 892B. 139-42 *Per quem . . .* gratiam: 5.7, 893D.
143-45 Hee tres . . . Crucifige: 5.7, 894A-B; 5.14, 896B.

ria. . . . PEr omnia secula seculorum. Iudeorum clamancium "Crucifige!" (Mc 145
Amen. 15:13-14; Lc 23:21; Jo 19:6, 15). *Per* <+>
ipsum, et cum <+> *ipso*, et *in* <+> *ipso*:
hee tres cruces significant tres cruciatus:
passionis, de qua dicitur: "Foderunt ma-
nus meas et pedes meos" (Ps 21:17), etc.; 150
pro cruciatu <pro>passionis: "Tristis est
anima mea vsque ad mortem" (Mt 26:38;
Mc 14:34), etc.; compassionis, de qua
dicitur: "Pater, ignosce illis" (cf. Lc
23:34). *Est tibi* <+> *Deo Patri, in vnitate* 155
<+> *Spiritus Sancti*, etc. Iste due vltime
cruces que fiunt in latere calicis significant
aquam et sanguinem que fluxerunt de
latere Christi.

Quare uertit se sacerdos quinquies ab 160
altari ad populum? Quia tociens apparuit
Dominus Petro post resurrectionem
suam. Et quare simul in silencio? Quia
semel apparuit Dominus, cuius appari-
tionis nec locus nec hora scitur ab 165
aliquo.

148-54 Hee tres . . . illis: 5.9, 894C-D. 155-59 *Est tibi* . . . Christi: 5.10, 895A.

APPENDIX C

Questio de vniversi complecione

The edition that follows has been established on the basis of a collation of the two British Library manuscripts in which the text of this *questio* has survived: Add. 59839, fol. 51v (=A), copied ca. 1300, and Royal 7.A.vi, fol. 38r (=R), of the fourteenth century. The following editorial practices should be noted: (1) all variant readings have been recorded except insignificant orthographical ones; (2) "medieval" Latin orthography has been preferred; (3) all abbreviations have been silently expanded; (4) punctuation, capitalization, and textual divisions are in accord with modern taste and convenience; (5) all entries in the *apparatus criticus*, which is keyed to the text by line number, retain the orthography of the manuscripts; (6) angle brackets surround letters supplied by the editors, as well as the title suggested for this work.

The quotation in lines 29-34 was drawn from sermon 77 of Pope Leo the Great (see *Sancti Leonis Magni . . . Tractatus septem et nonaginta*, ed. A. Chavasse, CCL 138A [Turnhout, 1973], p. 488, par. 2, lines 24-29).

<QUESTIO DE VNIVERSI COMPLECIONE
ROBERTI EPISCOPI LINCOLNIENSIS>

Robertus Lincolniensis Episcopus querit quomodo vniuersum sit completum, ad quod sic respondet quod per incarnationem verbi in vtero
5 uirginali completum est vniuersum, quod patet sic: Nam intellige in capite
linee recte creatorem, deinde creaturas ordine suo—angelum, celum, ignem,
aerem, aquam, terram, mineralia, plantas, bruta, et hominem, qui vltimo
creatus est. Ideo cum principium huius linee sit creator et finis homo,
coniunge hec extrema et rectam flecte lineam in circulum, quod factum est
10 cum uerbum caro factum est, et Deus homo, Alpha et Omega, principium
et finis, scilicet principium sine principio et finis sine fine; et sic in ista vnione
Dei et hominis in vna persona vniuersum completum est.

Prius ergo quam hoc fieret, noui aliquid poterat expectari quod mundo
addideretur, quia recto semper possibilis videtur addicio. Set iam clausis et
15 coniunctis extremis, et ita eodem facto vltimo qui fuit prius primus, nihil
nouum cum Iudeis expectemus; vnde Ysayas, prophetarum eximius: "Primus
et nouissimus ego sum, dicit Dominus." Circulo enim non est possibilis
addicio; sic ergo mundus seu vniuersum completum est et consummatum,
et hoc in vtero uirginis. Vnde Ysayas ad idem: "Consummacionem et
20 abbreviacionem faciet Dominus" in monte, id est in virgine, que est "mons
in quo beneplacitum est Domino inhabitare in eo." Et in libro Sapiencie
dicitur ad idem: "Mulierem fortem quis inueniet? Procul et de vltimis finibus
precium eius." Hec mulier fortis est beatissima uirgo; vltimi fines: Deus
principium et homo vltima creatura. Que extrema in vnione coniuncta,
25 quando uerbum caro factum est, vniuersum completum est. Vnde secundum

3 Robertus Lincolniensis in marg. suppl. R: R. lincolniensis A 3-4 Episcopus . . .
respondet om. R 4-5 in vtero uirginali om. R 5 completum est vniuersum] vniuersum
sit completum R quod patet] aduerti potest R Nam om. A capite] caput R
6 ignem] Ingneum R 7 mineralia] numeralia A plantas] edd.: planetas AR
8 Ideo] Igitur R 9 hec om. A flecte] reflecte A lineam om. A 11 sic
om. A 12 vna persona] vnam personam A 13 Prius] Prius Prius A 14 semper]
iam R videtur] est R 15 prius om. R 16 expectemus] expectari potest R
18 seu] sine R completum . . . consummatum] est consummatum A 21 in eo] Post
A 22 quis inueniet] etc. A 23 Hec] set R 24 vnione] vnum R

supranominatum Episcopum R<obertum>, si vniuersum debuit ad complementum peruenire, oportebat ex necessitate quod Filius Dei incarnaretur, etiam si Adam non peccasset. Tamen Leo Papa, in sermone quodam in festo Pentecostes, uidetur sentire contrarium. Dicit enim sic: "Si homo ad
 30 ymaginem et similitudinem Dei factus in sue nature honore mansisset, nec diabolica fraude deceptus a lege sibi posita per concupiscenciam deuiasset, creator mundi creatura non fieret, neque aut sempiternus temporalitatem subiret, aut equalis Deo Patri Filius Deus formam serui et similitudinem carnis peccati assumeret." Vnde prosa:

35 Ordinauit trinitas pio iungi munere
 Deitatem homini incarnato federe,
 Sic et fines vltimi procul donant precium
 Illi soli uirgini parienti filium,
 Qui compleuit circulum conplectentem omnia,
 40 Et deleuit titulum mortis morte propria.

 O enixa preter morem
 Maris stella verum solem,
 Creatura creatorem,
 Virgo Deum, virga florem,
 45 Per illius nos splendorem
 Et saporem et odorem
 Duc ad vitam meliorem,
 Quorum esse redemptorem
 Non sinas inmemorem. Amen.

50 Nota quod est incarnacio accio, et est incarnacio passio. Secundum quod est accio, Filius Dei incarnaretur etiam si Adam non peccasset. Secundum quod est passio, non.

 Similiter est spiracio accio, et spiracio passio. Secundum quod est accio, Pater et Filius spirant Spiritum Sanctum. Secundum quod est passio,
 55 Spiritus Sanctus spiratur a Patre et Filio. Amen.

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The Catholic University of America.

26 supranominatum Episcopum R<obertum>] R. lincolniensis R 27 Dei om. R
 28 etiam . . . peccasset post assumeret (lin. 34) habet A 28-34 Tamen Leo . . . assumeret
 om. R 35 iungi] iungens R 36 federe] fedum R 41-49 O enixa . . . inmemorem.
 Amen. post lin. 55 habet R 42 Maris] mare R 50 est incarnacio (post et) om. R
 51 non om. A peccasset] peccaret R 53 spiracio (post et) om. R est accio]
 accio est R 54 est om. A 55 Amen] Prosa R, cum lin. 41-49

“MAGNUS PREDICATOR ET DEUOTUS”:
A PROFILE OF THE LIFE, WORK, AND INFLUENCE
OF THE FIFTEENTH-CENTURY OXFORD PREACHER,
JOHN FELTON

Alan J. Fletcher

Since the time when G. R. Owst wrote that of the career of the fifteenth-century preacher John Felton there was “practically nothing of certainty known,”¹ any attention paid to Felton has been rare and incidental.² It is true that there is not much biographical information about him to attract attention, and the range of his work does not appear to be extensive. Nevertheless, if all the currently available evidence on him is mustered, he becomes a somewhat less shadowy figure, a figure who according to the estimation of some of his contemporaries deserved the recognition due to a saint, and for whom the preaching obligation appears to have been a duty to be assiduously carried out.

There are two major sources of evidence for Felton’s activity. The first, the “external” evidence, is left about him by others, while the second, the “internal” evidence, is provided by Felton’s work itself. As for his career, we know that from 1390 he was vicar of Melchbourne in Bedfordshire³ and that from 1397 to his death in 1434 he was vicar of the church of St. Mary Magdalen in Oxford.⁴ The man himself seems to have won the respect of those who knew him in his lifetime and to have had a local reputation after his death. Thomas Gascoigne, chancellor of Oxford University for the first time in 1434 and during various subsequent years, appears

¹ G. R. Owst, *Preaching in Medieval England* (Cambridge, 1926), 25. Felton receives even less attention in Owst’s *Literature and Pulpit in Medieval England*, 2d ed. (Oxford, 1961).

² See, for example, S. Wenzel, *Verses in Sermons: “Fasciculus morum” and its Middle English Poems* (Cambridge, Mass., 1978), *passim*.

³ Notes on the church of Melchbourne may be found in W. Page, ed., *A History of Bedfordshire*, The Victoria History of the Counties of England, 3 vols. (London, 1904-12; rpt. 1972), 3:143.

⁴ A. B. Emden, *A Biographical Register of the University of Oxford to A.D. 1500*, 3 vols. (Oxford, 1957-59), 2:676.

to have known Felton personally. While reading a collection of saints' lives that included a *vita* of St. Bernard, he was reminded of Felton by a story in the *vita* of a miraculous healing, and he made the following note in the right-hand margin:

Consimile miraculum huic fecit Deus pro sancte memorie viro domino Iohanne Felton . . . et predictus Felton fuit gloriosus predicator in bona vita et sciencia, quasi omni die dominica per plures annos, et Oxonie diu morans. Non fuit graduatus, et michi qui hec scripsi dixit causam. Et fuit natus in boria Anglie . . . [London, British Library Arundel 63, fol. 77r].⁵

This note contains the earliest and possibly the most reliable external information surviving on Felton, and some of it was borne out by subsequent writers. It was written sometime after 1434, which Gascoigne goes on to tell us was the year of Felton's death. Understandably, Gascoigne would have been impressed by an apparently assiduous discharge of dominical preaching duties.⁶ Even when allowance is made for any hyperbole in Gascoigne's praise for a dead man, the very effort taken by Felton to compile his *Sermones dominicales*, irrespective of his own somewhat formulaic declaration of his motives in the prologue to the cycle itself,⁷ argues in some

⁵ The manuscript (s. xiii¹) contains a collection of the lives of Edward King and Confessor, SS. Pelagia, Basil, Adrian, Bernard, Malachai, and Mary Magdalene. The life of Bernard is the only one annotated by Gascoigne. N. R. Ker identified the annotation as being by Gascoigne (see Emden, *Biographical Register* 2:676).

⁶ His estimation of preaching can be discerned, for example, in the *Liber veritatum* where he exhibits a very mixed attitude to the preaching licences enforced by Archbishop Arundel: "Jam enim episcopi nec praedicatione vacant, nec praedicatores in sua exhibent diocesi, nec tales illuc mittunt, set vix, pro magnis precibus mundanorum et pro pecuniis, licenciam praedicandi ad tempus eis placitum paucis concedunt in suis litteris scriptis, et sic verbum Dei jam est alligatum, et ideo plurima mala inundant, et, ut verisimile est, indies inundabunt. Dignum est ut indigni excludantur a praedicatione, set quae ratio est ut quasi omnes suspendantur, nec praedicent verbum Dei nisi habeant licenciam episcopi diocesani magnis precibus et pecuniis optentam?" (J. E. Thorold Rogers, *Loci e Libro veritatum* [Oxford, 1881], 180).

⁷ Felton's prologue to the *Sermones dominicales* runs as follows: "Peniuria studencium in materia morali, paupertasque iuuenum qui copia priuantur librorum ac importuna sociorum meorum instancia, non temeritatis audacia, induxerunt me vt de singulis euangelijis dominicalibus que per anni circulum leguntur, aliquam facerem compilacionem sermonum. Hinc est quod de micis quas collegi que cadebant de mensis dominorum meorum, scilicet, Ianuensis, Parisiensis, Lugdunensis, Odonis, atque ceterorum quorum nomina communiter scribuntur in margine libri, vnum opusculum 'vt' ad laudem Dei et gloriose Virginis Marie et sancte Marie Magdalene, omniumque sanctorum et ad legencium vtilitatem et michi ad meritum. Amen" (Oxford, Oriel College 10, fol. 273ra). The protestations of modesty, of a *ratio scribendi* (the work has been solicited by others), and of a poverty of *materia moralis* amongst clerics (or clerical students) are well established traditions by Felton's time. The prologue to the twelfth-century *Ehucidarium* of Honorius Augustodunensis (see PL 172:1109-10) contains the modesty topos and the declaration that the work was importuned by fellow pupils. The prologue to the *Fasciculus morum* (an influential preaching aid compiled in

measure for his commitment to the idea of Sunday preaching. It seems reasonable to assume, then, that Gascoigne's commendation is soundly based. In the sixteenth century, John Leland continues the tradition that Felton was a diligent preacher, whose aim was to draw the people of the Isis away from their sins "frequenti concione."⁸ In the same century, John Bale tells us that Felton was so reputed for sanctity even while alive that in the years after his death people frequently visited his tomb, "spe, vana licet, allecti," believing "reliquias ejus miracula perpetraturas esse."⁹ The Protestant polemicist here records the existence of a semi-devotional adulation of Felton of which he, of course, did not approve, and of which no trace was evident in the words of Gascoigne. Even so, the existence of such specific popular practices would be quite compatible with Gascoigne's general tone of approbation for a man "*sancte memorie*." In fact, there is one further piece of external evidence from the fifteenth century which confirms that Bale may indeed have been recording a genuine tradition.¹⁰ Oxford, St. John's College 109 contains a copy of Felton's personal abridgment of the *Pera peregrini*, a work originally compiled by an anonymous monk of the Cistercian abbey of Newminster, Northumberland, around the year 1350.¹¹ At the end of the work there appears the following inscription:

Orate pro fratre Iohanne Holbeche quondam priore Oseneye qui istum librum ecclesie emit (et soluit pro eodem libro xij s iijj d) qui vocatur abstractus libri peregrini, quem composuit D. Iohannes Felton, quondam bonus vicarius ecclesie parochialis Sancte Marie Magdalene 'Oxonienensis,' magnus predicator et deuotus et a quibusdam et multis vocatus sanctus, qui iacet in eadem ecclesia et est sepultus [fol. 245r].¹²

either the late thirteenth or early fourteenth century, and a work which Felton drew upon in his *Sermones*) again includes the modesty topos and a similar *ratio scribendi*—the work is written in response to a request from its unknown dedicatee (see Wenzel, *Verses in Sermons*, 34-35). Felton's contemporary, the Augustinian canon John Mirk, writes in book 5, chapter 2 of his unpublished Latin work, the *Manuale sacerdotis*, that the scarcity of books among priests led him to compose his work, "non ex proprio ingenio exaratum, sed de flosculis sanctorum patrum congestum" (Oxford, Bodleian Library Bodley 549, fol. 170r).

⁸ See A. Hall, *Commentarii de Scriptoribus Britannicis, Auctore Joanne Lelando* (Oxford, 1709), 1:402.

⁹ Reported from Bale by T. Tanner, *Bibliotheca Britannico-Hibernica* (London, 1748), 276.

¹⁰ Bale is not always reliable in his information, since there is no secure basis for his statement that Felton was a fellow of Mary Magdalen College and a professor of theology.

¹¹ Such is the date and ascription of authorship given to the *Pera peregrini* on fol. 515v of Oxford, Merton College 70 (s. xv¹). F. M. Powicke, *The Medieval Books of Merton College* (Oxford, 1931), 200, describes the manuscript and notes that the St. John's manuscript is an abstract by Felton.

¹² The inscription is undated but appears to be of the second half of the fifteenth century. The scribe who copied all the text seems to have been writing in the first half of the fifteenth century.

The inscription speaks in the same breath of Felton's stature as a preacher and his popular esteem as a saint, seeming almost to associate the two; the quality, or perhaps regularity, of his preaching keeps close company with his reputation for sanctity. This association was also a theme of Gascoigne's. For him it appears that Felton earned a "holy memory" chiefly for his preaching activities. Perhaps it was the quality and regularity of Felton's Sunday preaching which was interpreted by some of his contemporaries as a principal hallmark of a saintly life; by inference we may be able to descry here some opinion about the general regularity of Sunday preaching in the first half of the fifteenth century.¹³

The St. John's manuscript inscription also hints at further biographical details concerning Felton, but ones which are ultimately elusive and unverifiable. Did the sometime prior of the Augustinian abbey at Oseney, John Holbech, know Felton personally?¹⁴ It is at least possible that the two men were contemporaries living not far removed from each other, and since in Felton's time Oseney abbey held the advowson to his living at Mary Magdalen's, it is likely that there was some commerce between Felton and the Oseney house.¹⁵

To return to Gascoigne's note in the Arundel manuscript, we read that Felton never graduated, and that Felton gave Gascoigne a reason for his not having done so. This would seem to suggest that at some stage Felton was engaged in reading for a degree, but for some reason not all the forms which might justify its award were duly observed.¹⁶ William Worcestre, the fifteenth-century traveller and compiler of London, British Library Cotton Julius F.vii, includes there what is probably Felton's name amongst a list of eminent ecclesiastics and adds three biographical details about him:

Magister Fenton vicarius de Maudleyns bacarius in artibus de Northumberland [fol. 207r].¹⁷

¹³ On the frequency of preaching at this date, see P. Heath, *The English Parish Clergy on the Eve of the Reformation* (London and Toronto, 1969), 93-95.

¹⁴ Holbech remains obscure. I have found no record of the names of the Oseney priors at this date. Anthony Wood had also read the note in the St. John's College manuscript, but apart from mentioning Holbech (and, incidentally, referring to Felton as "surnamed 'Homiliarius'"), adds no further information on him. (See A. Clark, ed., *Survey of the Antiquities of the City of Oxford*, composed in 1661-6, by Anthony Wood, 3 vols. [Oxford, 1889], 1:359 and nn. 1-2.)

¹⁵ See A. Crossley, ed., *A History of the County of Oxford*, vol. 4, *The Victoria History of the Counties of England* (Oxford, 1979), 387.

¹⁶ The alternative explanation of Gascoigne's comment would be to take it that Felton never had any University career. If for no other reason than the witness of William Worcestre given below, this seems the less likely possibility.

¹⁷ Other ecclesiastics mentioned are Rolle, Kilwardby, and Edmund of Pontigny, for

The purpose of this entry and the list in which it occurs is not clear. It seems to bear no relation to the contents of the page in whose margin it is written. Though Worcestre spells Felton's name incorrectly, it is likely that Felton is the man intended; the references to the incumbency at Mary Magdalen's and to Northumberland provide strong circumstantial evidence. When Worcestre says that Felton was "bacalarius in artibus," we need not necessarily be facing a contradiction of Gascoigne. Of the two, Gascoigne should be trusted to understand matters concerned with conferring degrees. As chancellor of Oxford he would have been responsible for granting the licence permitting a student to lecture on any book of the Faculty of Arts. At this point in the course the student would in practice have been called "bachelor," though he would not be considered to have fully taken his degree until his determination in the following Lent.¹⁸ It would be possible to reconcile Gascoigne and Worcestre, then, on the assumption that Felton had followed a bachelorship that had not been fully ratified.

The last point which Gascoigne makes about Felton, that he was born in the north of England, is echoed in Worcestre's more specific location of Felton in Northumberland. There is no doubt that here, too, Gascoigne is correct. The testimony of these two independent external witnesses, Gascoigne and Worcestre, is apparently corroborated by a piece of internal evidence. Investigation of the written dialects of the Middle English verses of the *Sermones dominicales* (other occasional words in English in the *Sermones* are too few to be helpful) reveals that a small group has strongly northern orthographical affinities. One of these, Oxford, Oriel College 10, is particularly striking. Selected orthographies of a strongly regional character are collated after the table of identified manuscripts and their sigla below:¹⁹

example. On Cotton Julius F.vii, probably a collection of Worcester's "first-hand memorabilia," see J. H. Harvey, ed., *William Worcestre Itineraries* (Oxford, 1969), p. xx.

¹⁸ See J. M. Fletcher, "The Faculty of Arts" in *The History of the University of Oxford 1: The Early Oxford Schools*, ed. J. I. Catto, (Oxford, 1984), 380-82; also, H. Rashdall, *The Universities of Europe in the Middle Ages*, ed. F. M. Powicke and A. B. Emden, 3 vols. (Oxford, 1936), 3:141.

¹⁹ I am grateful to Professor Ralph Hanna III for sharing with me his list of manuscripts of the *Sermones dominicales*. I am also indebted to Dr. Helen L. Spencer for transcribing readings from Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 360, and to Dr. Susan Powell for transcribing readings from Leicestershire, County Record Office, Wyggeston Hospital 10 D 34/13.

*Extant Manuscripts: Location and Shelfmark**Signum*

Antwerp, Plantin-Moretus Library lat. 109
Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 360
Dublin, Trinity College 317
Leicester, Wyggeston Hospital 10 D 34/13
Lincoln, Cathedral Library 204
London, British Library Add. 20727
London, British Library Add. 22572
London, British Library Harley 4
London, British Library Harley 238
London, British Library Harley 868
London, British Library Harley 5396
London, British Library Royal 8.B.xii
London, Lambeth Palace Library 78
London, Sion College Library Arc.L.40.2/L.27
Manchester, John Rylands Library lat. 176
Oxford, Bodleian Library Bodley 187
Oxford, Bodleian Library Lat. th. e. 7
Oxford, Bodleian Library Laud Misc. 414
Oxford, Bodleian Library Laud Misc. 732
Oxford, Magdalen College lat. 11
Oxford, New College 305
Oxford, Oriel College 10
Oxford, Bodleian Library Rawlinson C.363
Oxford, Bodleian Library Rawlinson C.662
Oxford, St. John's College 139
Oxford, University College 70
Oxford, Wadham College 12
Philadelphia, Univ. of Penn. lat. 35
Worcester, Cathedral Library Q.45

A
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V
W
X
Y
Z
a
β
γ

Word: good blood hold lamb man love though

MS

<i>A</i>	gode	blode	hold	lome/lombe	man	loue	poue
<i>B</i>	gude	blode	holde	lambe	man/manne	loue	pow3/po3e
<i>C</i>		blode					tho
<i>D</i>	gode			lamb/lombe	man	loue	3yf
<i>E</i>	good		hold	lombe	man	lowe	
<i>F</i>	gude	blude		lambe			yof
<i>G</i>	goode	blode	holde	lambe	man	loue	powgh
<i>H</i>	good	bloode	hoolde	lombe/lambe	man	love	pou3

<i>I</i>	good	blood	hold	lombe	man		þow
<i>J</i>	gude	blode	holde	lambe/lombe	mon		yof
<i>K</i>	good	blode	holde	lombe	man		þey
<i>L</i>	good	blode		lambe	mon	loue	thogh/þof
<i>M</i>							
<i>N</i>	good	blod	holde	lombe	mon	loue	thof
<i>O</i>	good	blood	hold	lomb	man	loue	þow
<i>P</i>	gude	blode	hald	lambe	man	loue	þow
<i>Q</i>	goode	bloode	holde	lambe	man	loue	of/off
<i>R</i>	good	blood	hald	lamb	man		þow ₃
<i>S</i>	good	blode	holde	lombe	man		yow
<i>T</i>	gode	blode	hold	lomb	man		if
<i>U</i>	gude	blude	holde	lambe	man	loue	3outhē/3ouche
<i>V</i>	gude	blude	hald	lambe	man		þof
<i>W</i>	good		hoold	lambe	man		
<i>X</i>	good	blod	holde	lombe	man	loue	þow
<i>Y</i>	good	bloode	holde	lamme/lombe	man	loue	thoght/thoffe/thogh
<i>Z</i>	gud	blode	holde	lombe	man	luf	þowe
<i>a</i>	good		holde	lombe	man	loue	thow/yf
<i>β</i>	gode	blode	holde	lambe	man	luffe	þow ₃ /þowþ
<i>γ</i>	goode	blode	holde	lombe	man	loue	þow

Word: much why shall their them needs (3d pers. sg.)

MS

<i>A</i>	mykyll	qwy	schall		þaim	nedis
<i>B</i>	mykull	why	schale	payre	þai	nedis
<i>C</i>			schal			
<i>D</i>	much	why	schal	yare		nedys
<i>E</i>	mycul	qwy		þer	þam	nedis
<i>F</i>			schal	payr	þaym	nedis/nedys
<i>G</i>	mykyl	why	sal	here	they	nedys
<i>H</i>	moche	why	schal			nedyþ/nedyth
<i>I</i>	mykil	why	schal	payre	þam	nedis/nedith
<i>J</i>	mekull	qwy	shall	there		nedis
<i>K</i>	muche	why	schal	hare	hem	nedis
<i>L</i>	mykull	why	shall		theym	nedes
<i>M</i>			schal			
<i>N</i>	mych	wy	scall	thare		nedyth
<i>O</i>	mykil	why	schal	þere	þem	nedyþ/nedys
<i>P</i>	moche	why	shal	þar	þam	nedys
<i>Q</i>	mych	why	shall	theyre		needith
<i>R</i>	myche	why	shal	payr	þaym	nedys
<i>S</i>	mekyll	why	schalle	yere	yem	nedis/nedyth
<i>T</i>	mych	whi	schal		tham	nedyþ/nedep

<i>U</i>	mekill	qwy	schall	there	yaim	nedis
<i>V</i>	mykil	wy	sal	payre	paym	nedis
<i>W</i>	mykyl	whi		pair	paym	nedis
<i>X</i>	mykyll	why	schal	per	hym	nedith
<i>Y</i>	mych	why	schall		thaym	nedis
<i>Z</i>	mykel	why	schalle	peire	paym	nedys
<i>a</i>	mykyl	why	shalle	her	hem	nedeth
<i>β</i>	mych	why	shal	pare		nedys
<i>γ</i>	mykyl	why	schall	here	per	nedys

The thirteen words compared above, which are found among the verses in Felton's *Sermones* (the English verses of Oriel College 10 are printed below in Appendixes 1 and 4), have been selected for the tendency of their spelling to vary significantly between one written dialect of Middle English and another. For various reasons, not all manuscripts contain all the verses. *M*, for example, is low on English because it incorporates the *Sermones* merely in short excerpts within a larger, heterogeneous collection of material. Other gaps in the table above may be the result of the manuscript containing not the exact equivalent of the word in question but rather a variant.²⁰

There are various reasons for believing that of all the manuscripts, Oriel College 10 (*V*) preserves the written complexion of the author's original most faithfully. Here the northern forms are most densely concentrated. It exhibits, for example, *u* for the Old English *ō* reflex in "gude" and "blude" (< OE *gōd*, *blōd*, respectively; the form "blude," the one originally written, has subsequently been corrected to the more standard "blode") and an *a* for the Old English *a* + *ld* reflex in "-hald."²¹ Its grammatical and morphological forms are also strongly northern, exhibiting *-is* spellings of the third-person singular present indicative ending ("nedis") and "payre," "paym" forms of the possessive and the personal plural pronoun.²² The "pof" form

²⁰ One of these, of additional orthographic interest, deserves brief mention here. Twenty-three manuscripts, *A*, *B*, *D*, *E*, *G*, *H*, *I*, *K*, *L*, *N*, *O*, *P*, *Q*, *R*, *S*, *T*, *U*, *V*, *W*, *Y*, *a*, *β*, *γ*, have a participial form of the verb LOVE as well as, or rather than, the simplex LOVE itself. The spelling of these participial forms in two manuscripts is of interest: "luffyt" in *U*, which has a northern character (see below on this) and "y-lo<.>" in *γ*, in which retention of the "y-" prefix at this date (*γ* was copied in the mid-fifteenth century) looks distinctly conservative and southerly. See A. McIntosh, M. L. Samuels, and M. Benskin, *A Linguistic Atlas of Late Mediaeval English*, 4 vols. (Aberdeen, 1986), 1:551, dot map 1195, for its distribution.

²¹ See McIntosh, Samuels, and Benskin, *Linguistic Atlas* 2:279-84, for a distribution map of the item GOOD; see their *Linguistic Atlas* 1:513, dot map 930, for the distribution of the item -ALD.

²² See McIntosh, Samuels, and Benskin, *Linguistic Atlas* 1:466, dot map 645, for the distribution of *-is* endings of the third-person singular present indicative of verbs; see their

of the word **THOUGH** suggests an Old Norse etymon which is only likely to have been current in northern areas,²³ and the *s*- spelling for auxiliary **SHALL** ("sal") is again typically northern.²⁴ The "mykil" form of the word **MUCH** also has a northern character.²⁵ In fact, the orthography of *V* is generally quite compatible with a location in Northumberland.²⁶

Three other manuscripts come close to rivalling *V* in their concentration of northern forms. First, *F*, where it preserves any English for comparison, is strongly northern, and perhaps it may be presumed that were it to have preserved more English, the written dialect of this English would have been similarly northern; second, *J*, which lacks some text, has noticeable northern characteristics where the text survives; and third, *U* preserves no less than eight characteristically northern forms, two of which are not noted in *V* itself: "luffyt" and "qwy."²⁷ Nevertheless, *V* remains conspicuous, and there are codicological reasons that endorse the attention it attracts on linguistic grounds. *V* is certainly an Oxford production and is amongst the earliest of the *Sermones dominicales* manuscripts.²⁸ It is therefore close to Felton in time and place. The text in this manuscript has also been copied and corrected with great care.²⁹ It would not be surprising were further work

Linguistic Atlas 2:27-32, 33-38, for distribution maps of the items **THEM** and **THEIR** respectively.

²³ See McIntosh, Samuels, and Benskin, *Linguistic Atlas* 2:141-46, for a distribution map of the item **THOUGH**.

²⁴ See McIntosh, Samuels, and Benskin, *Linguistic Atlas* 2:93-98, for a distribution map of the item **SHALL** (singular).

²⁵ See McIntosh, Samuels, and Benskin, *Linguistic Atlas* 2:75-80, for a distribution map of the item **MUCH**.

²⁶ The orthographies recorded amongst the linguistic profiles for Northumberland in McIntosh, Samuels, and Benskin, *Linguistic Atlas* 3:384-91, bear frequent comparison with those of Oriol College 10. It might also be noted that the spelling of the conjunction **BUT** in Oriol College 10 (an item not included on the chart above), unlike that in any other manuscript, is "bod" (see Oriol College 10, fol. 298va). This spelling mainly appears to have had an extreme northeasterly distribution and is entirely consistent with a location in Northumberland. See McIntosh, Samuels, and Benskin, *Linguistic Atlas* 2:243-48, for a distribution map of the item **BUT**.

²⁷ On "luffyt," see McIntosh, Samuels, and Benskin, *Linguistic Atlas* 1:496, dot maps 823 and 825, for relevant spellings of the item **LOVE** (noun and verb), and on "qwy," their *Linguistic Atlas* 2:189-94, for a distribution map of the item **WH**.

²⁸ I am grateful to Professor Richard Rouse and to Dr. Malcolm B. Parkes for their opinion on the date of Oriol College 10 (sometime during the second quarter of the fifteenth century but after 1431); for descriptive notes on the manuscript, see also A. J. Fletcher, "A Death Lyric from the *Summa Predicantium*, MS Oriol College 10," *N & Q*, n.s., 24 (1977): 11-12. The dates of the three other manuscripts with strongly northern orthographies are as follows: London, British Library Add. 20727 (s. xv med.), London, British Library Harley 868 (s. xv²), Oxford, New College 305, 1467 (visible under ultraviolet on fol. 146rb).

²⁹ See Fletcher, "Death Lyric," 11. A counter-argument that Oriol College 10 may owe its northern forms to having been copied by a northern scribe does not hold. There are other snatches of English verse in the *Summa predicantium* portion of the manuscript which

on the textual tradition of the *Sermones* to prove that *V* is one of the least corrupt copies.

FELTON'S LITERARY CAREER

Felton's literary career, as it would appear from the surviving evidence, had two major interrelated aspects, both of which require consideration in order to round out our understanding of his achievement. He was an author and compiler, as well as a redactor and reader. Of his authorial literary remains, however, the *Sermones dominicales* are the most conspicuous.³⁰ A note written on fol. 2r of *J* declares that they were completed in 1431 (thus three years before his death),³¹ and they acquired a subsequent popularity partly manufactured by the Oxford book industry. Of the twenty-nine manuscripts in which the *Sermones* survive, in whole or in part,³² as many as sixteen may have originated in Oxford.³³ Felton presumably started

though copied by the same scribe do not display noticeably northern features. It seems that the scribe tends to reproduce the spellings of his exemplar rather than standardize according to his own written dialect.

³⁰ The word "authorial" is used somewhat loosely; he seems rather to have thought of himself as a compiler who has put together a collection of sermons "de micis quas collegi que cadebant de mensis dominorum meorum" (Oriel College 10, fol. 273ra). For a study of the genre of *compilatio* to which Felton's *Sermones* seem akin, see M. B. Parkes, "The Influence of the Concepts of *Ordinatio* and *Compilatio* on the Development of the Book" in *Medieval Learning and Literature: Essays presented to Richard William Hunt*, ed. J. J. G. Alexander and M. T. Gibson (Oxford, 1976), 115-41. It might be noted that the *Sermones dominicales* collection of Philip Repyngdon was compiled in a similar sort of way. On this, see S. Forde, "Theological Sources Cited by Two Canons of Repton: Philip Repyngdon and John Eyton" in *From Ockham to Wyclif*, ed. A. Hudson and M. J. Wilks, *Studies in Church History*, Subsidia 5 (Oxford, 1987), 419-28.

³¹ *J* is the only manuscript to date the completion of the *Sermones*.

³² Two further manuscripts cited by J. B. Schneyer, *Wegweiser zu lateinischen Predigtreihen des Mittelalters* (Munich, 1965), 120 and 204, are cited in error. An interesting misascription of the sermons of Lincoln, Cathedral Library 59, which was made by one M^{<agister>} W. Haell in his own hand (s. xv²) in this manuscript, implies that they are by Felton. They are in fact by Nicholas de Aquevilla. It is not clear who this Haell was, though if one of the Oxford Hales or Halls, which would economically explain his awareness of Felton, then either William (or John) Halle, admitted as a scholar of New College in 1472, or William Hale of Tadmaston, Oxfordshire, also admitted as a scholar there in 1481, seem likely candidates (see Emden, *Bibliographical Register* 2:853 and 850 respectively).

³³ In the following list, *Oxford* means that a particular manuscript has codicological features that books produced in Oxford often appear to exhibit (a metallic hue in the colour of the ink and a pronounced orange tinge on the hair sides of the parchment; on this, see M. B. Parkes, "A Study of Certain Kinds of Script Used in England in the Late Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries, and the Origins of the 'Tudor Secretary' Hand," unpublished B.Litt. thesis [Oxford, 1958], 80-81). *OXFORD* means that its location in Oxford is reasonably secure on external evidence, and *OXFORD* that both codicology and external evidence are consonant with an Oxford location. In the case of Lambeth 78, *CANTERBURY* means that external evidence locates it there, and similarly with *WRITTLE* (in Essex) in the case

of New College 305. Unknown or uncertain provenance is indicated by ? Names of scribes of the *Sermones dominicales* are given whenever these are recorded. Where they are not, the number of scribes at work on each copy of the *Sermones* (and their *tabula*, if one is present) is noted, and where more precise dating is wanting, I have ventured a palaeographic dating of the *Sermones* hand(s). I follow N. R. Ker's dating formulas.

<i>Siglum</i>	Provenance	Scribe(s)	Date	Notes
<i>A</i>	<i>Oxford</i>	2	s. xv ²	
<i>B</i>	?	1	s. xv med.	
<i>C</i>	?	1	s. xv med.	
<i>D</i>	?	1	s. xv ²	A note on fol. 162v in a fifteenth-century hand reads: "hic liber constat collegio," but no name noted.
<i>E</i>	<i>Oxford</i>	1	s. xv ex.	
<i>F</i>	?	1	s. xv med.	
<i>G</i>	OXFORD	1	s. xv ²	A note on fol. 1 reads: "Liber Collegi Cantuarie Monachorum in Oxonia" (i.e., Canterbury College, which in 1546 was absorbed into Christ Church).
<i>H</i>	<i>Oxford</i>	1	s. xv ²	
<i>I</i>	?	1	s. xv ²	
<i>J</i>	<i>Oxford</i>	1	s. xv ²	
<i>K</i>	<i>Oxford</i>	1	s. xv med.	
<i>L</i>	?	1	s. xv ²	
<i>M</i>	CANTERBURY	1	s. xv med.	Shortly after 1448, the date of William Chartham's work (see below, p. 149 and n. 77).
<i>N</i>	?	1	s. xv ²	
<i>O</i>	<i>Oxford</i>		s. xv med.	Scribe names himself on fol. 202r as John Feryng.
<i>P</i>	<i>Oxford</i>	1	s. xv med.	
<i>Q</i>	OXFORD	2	1460	Note on fol. 308v: "Et scriptum fuit finaliter Oxonie 5 die Iulii Anno Cristi Millesimo cccc ^{mo} lx ^o ."
<i>R</i>	<i>Oxford</i>	1	s. xv ²	
<i>S</i>	?	1	ca. 1478?	This date noted on fol. 325r.
<i>T</i>	<i>Oxford</i>	1	s. xv ²	
<i>U</i>	WRITTE		1467	Visible under ultraviolet on fol. 146rb: "Iste liber scriptus est apud Wrytell per manum Magistri Thome Holme. Anno Domini M ^{mo} CCCC ^{mo} sexagesimo septimo."
<i>V</i>	<i>Oxford</i>	1	s. xv med.	
<i>W</i>	<i>Oxford</i>	1	s. xv ²	
<i>X</i>	?	1	s. xv med.	
<i>Y</i>	<i>Oxford</i>	1	s. xv ²	
<i>Z</i>	?	1	s. xv ²	
<i>a</i>	<i>Oxford</i>	1	s. xv ²	
<i>β</i>	?	1	s. xv ²	
<i>γ</i>	OXFORD		s. xv med.	Magister William Bedmystre signs his name on fols. 143v and 222v. Bedmystre also copied Bodley 795, "Oxonie anno domini 1435" (fol. 244v). On Bedmystre, see Emden, <i>Register</i> 1:147.

to assemble the *Sermones* sometime after 1397, the year of his institution in St. Mary Magdalen's, since he dedicates them in his prologue "ad laudem Dei et gloriose Virginis Marie et sancte Marie Magdalene" (V, fol. 273ra).

Felton acknowledged his principal sources in his prologue to the *Sermones*; works of Jacobus de Voragine, "Parisiensis," "Lugdunensis," and "Odonis" were all consulted.³⁴ But apart from these, he consulted a host of other sources (Chrysostom, John of Wales, Hugh of St. Victor, Ranulph Higden, an *Alphabetum narracionum*, Grosseteste, and Pseudo-Grosseteste, to name but a few), which would, he declared, be cited "in margine libri."³⁵ The manuscripts, however, including V, do not attest to any detailed or systematic marginal apparatus present in Felton's original copy; they attest instead to a simple, less formal apparatus which occasionally, and apparently unsystematically, noted the name of Felton's principal *auctoritates* and the structural divisions of his sermons.³⁶ No doubt he added his apparatus out of some sense of its usefulness and of the authority which documentation conferred.³⁷ Nevertheless, its partiality is emphasized by the fact that unascribed compilations which were also used by Felton (e.g., the *Fasciculus morum*, an *Alphabetum narracionum*, the *Pera peregrini*, and a *tractatus* beginning "Accidiosus") tend generally not to be distinguished in the margin.³⁸

³⁴ The debt to Jacobus is clear, and illustrated below. By "Parisiensis," "Lugdunensis," and "Odonis," Felton is referring to Peraldus, Nicholas de Aquevilla, and Odo of Cheriton. I have compared Felton's text with texts of the sermon cycles of Peraldus, Nicholas de Aquevilla, and Odo of Cheriton (as preserved in Oxford, University College 57, Oxford, Bodleian Library Laud Misc. 732, and Cambridge, University Library Peterhouse 109 respectively); the similarities are extensive. The four authors named in Felton's prologue seem to have been listed in order of diminishing frequency of his use. The marginal apparatus of V calls attention to the work of Jacobus forty times, of Peraldus twenty-four times, of Nicholas eighteen times and of Odo eight times.

³⁵ V, fol. 273ra. All these sources show that the prologue's shadowy mention of the use of the works "of others" ("ceterorum") has indeed much substance behind it.

³⁶ Also he numbers in the margin (perhaps sometimes responsibility for the numbering may be scribal) the individual points in lists incorporated in sermons (as, for example, in the Passion Sunday sermon, where each item in the list of the Seven Arrows of the Day of Judgment is numbered in the margin). Preservation of the marginal apparatus seems to some extent to have been at the copyist's whim. In Q, for example, the first scribe abandoned the apparatus his exemplar probably contained, while the second preserved it.

³⁷ In this respect Felton's apparatus is no different from others commonly found across the spectrum of late medieval manuscripts of *pastoralia*.

³⁸ In the marginal apparatus of V, apart from Felton's "hierarchy" of named authors referred to above in n. 34, only two other named authors are noted, and each one only twice, "Wallensis" (John of Wales) on fols. 279vb and 302vb (in the sermons for Holy Innocents and the fourth Sunday after Easter respectively) and "Lincolniensis" (Grosseteste or Pseudo-Grosseteste) on fols. 305ra and 328ra (in the sermons for the Sunday within the octave of the Ascension and the eighteenth Sunday after Trinity respectively). The marginal note "In tractatu qui dicitur Accidiosus" appears four times, on fols. 288vb, 289ra, 302ra,

Strictly speaking, to refer to this collection as the *Sermones dominicales* is something of a misnomer, since although the bulk of the sermons are indeed dominical, two out of the fifty-eight are not. These are the sixth and seventh of the collection, written for the feasts of the Holy Innocents and the Epiphany respectively.³⁹ It is also interesting to notice that these two sermons share the unusual distinction of being based on the Epistle pericope of the day, unlike the remaining *Temporale* sermons which, with one exception, are all based on the day's Gospel.⁴⁰ For the rest, the collection lives up to its name, providing the preacher with a comprehensive *de tempore* series which begins with the first Sunday of Advent and ends with the twenty-fifth Sunday after Trinity. For certain occasions, namely, for the fourth Sunday of Advent, for Easter day, and for the fifth Sunday after Trinity, two sermons are included, and it is possible to venture reasons as to why this should be so.⁴¹ The second of the two Advent sermons, which is the fifth in the collection, has, like the sixth and seventh sermons, a theme selected from the day's Epistle, and this may perhaps suggest that these three sermons were originally part of a group that Felton had composed earlier, and for which he wished to make a place when he put his larger collection together. An alternative Easter sermon is perhaps in the nature of things likely to have been composed, given the importance of the liturgical occasion when the demand for preaching material may have been more pressingly felt. The provision of alternative sermons for the fifth Sunday after Trinity is more puzzling, but since the second of these two—though Felton never explicitly acknowledges it—is in fact based almost entirely upon the third sermon for the fifth Sunday after Trinity in the *Sermones dominicales* of Jacobus de Voragine, there may be here an example of

and 308rb (in the sermons for the first and second Sundays of Lent, the third Sunday after Easter, and the first Sunday after Trinity respectively; see further on this *tractatus* below, n. 73), the note "Pera Peregrini" once, on fol. 319ra (in the sermon for the tenth Sunday after Trinity), and the note "De libro narracionum" once, on fol. 298ra (in the second sermon for Easter day). The *Fasciculus morum* is not cited in the margins at all (although as Wenzel, *Verses in Sermons*, 44 and n. 151, observes, it appears a few times in the margins of manuscript β , another indicator perhaps of the vulnerability in scribal transmission of the marginal apparatus; possibly scribes may be adding to, as well as subtracting from, Felton's *ur-apparatus*).

³⁹ I follow the order preserved in *V*, which is typical.

⁴⁰ The one exception is the alternative sermon for the fourth Sunday in Advent, the fifth sermon in the *Sermones dominicales* cycle.

⁴¹ Felton's multiplication of sermons for one particular occasion is sporadic, occurring on a far more modest scale than in certain other collections of sermons circulating in the fifteenth century. Contrast, for example, the multiple choice offered in Philip Repyngdon's *Sermones dominicales*. (Multiple choice also carries over into a few vernacular collections; compare, for example, the collection in London, British Library Harley 2247 and Royal 18.B.xxv, and Dublin, Trinity College 428.)

Felton's personal taste, or of Felton simply dwelling on the matter of a sermon written by a man who was, arguably, his favourite author.⁴²

Felton's *Sermones dominicales* might be justifiably styled a model sermon collection, even though the distinguishing characteristics of this category have sometimes proved elusive.⁴³ Not all the sermons are quite complete in all respects. In his Sexagesima sermon, for example, before the repetition of his theme, "Exivit qui seminat seminare," Felton addresses the preacher directly: "dictis precibus, repetatur thema et anglicetur" (V, fol. 286va). This instruction to repeat the theme and then translate it into English after the prayers (probably a *Pater noster* and an *Ave Maria* said alike by preacher and congregation)⁴⁴ shows that Felton envisaged the use of his collection primarily by aspirant preachers, whatever his prologue might be understood to imply.⁴⁵ The extent to which his collection is a reflex of material that he himself actually preached on some occasion is difficult, if not impossible, to determine; it seems likely that he may have preached a portion of what he wrote, but the form in which the *Sermones* survive implies at the very

⁴² Such wholesale adaptation is the exception in Felton's collection, though Felton's estimation of Jacobus, which his adaptation implies, is perhaps anticipated in the way Jacobus heads the list of named authors in his prologue to the *Sermones* (see n. 34 above). For the text of the Jacobus sermon, see Oxford, Bodleian Library Bodley 320, fols. 119r-120r. May it be that it was the discussion of preaching and the role of the preacher in Jacobus's sermon that attracted Felton's attention? (Felton frequently follows tradition in including reflections on the office of the preacher in his sermon prothemes; see J. B. Schneyer, *Die Unterweisung der Gemeinde über die Predigt bei scholastischen Predigern* [Munich, 1968], where much material on the office of preaching is collected and analysed from the prothemes of several Latin sermons. Vernacular sermons may also follow the trend; compare, for example, Cambridge, University Library Gg.6.16, fol. 15v.) It might also be noted that the same Jacobus sermon caught Philip Repyngdon's eye too, for he uses it in his own *Sermones dominicales* cycle (compare Oxford, Lincoln College 85, p. 372, with the copy of Jacobus cited above).

⁴³ On the difficulties of defining the "model sermon collection," and for an attempt to do so, see D. L. d'Avray, *The Preaching of the Friars* (Oxford, 1985), 104-31.

⁴⁴ Invitation to the congregation to say a *Pater noster* and an *Ave* (and perhaps other bidding prayers at the preacher's discretion) before the repetition of the theme is Felton's common practice, and would also seem to have been traditional (compare also the advice of Thomas Waleys in his *De modo componendi sermones*; see Th.-M. Charland, *Artes Praedicandi: Contribution à l'histoire de la rhétorique au moyen âge* [Paris and Ottawa, 1936], 349-50). A similar practice is observable in contemporary vernacular preaching (for example, in London, British Library Royal 18.B.xxiii, fol. 129v; Worcester, Cathedral Library F.10, fol. 8r; and many others).

⁴⁵ A certain vagueness exists in the wording of the prologue which might be taken to suggest that the *Sermones* were destined for the general reader, and indeed the case of *M* shows that the general reader sometimes did in fact find them useful. However, the *Sermones* contain a few direct instructions to the reader that assume him more specifically to be a preacher. Compare also, for example, the instructions early on in the sermons for the first and second Sundays in Lent: "repetatur evangelium pro introduccione" (V, fols. 288ra and 289ra respectively).

least a degree of literary polish and subsequent sophistication.⁴⁶ The sermons themselves, while for the most part they proceed along well-trodden paths, drawing upon standard, indeed often commonplace sources, frequently articulate those sources in refreshing ways. Felton is fond of *distinctiones* and *divisiones*, dominant features of “modern” sermon style since the thirteenth century, and it would be the more remarkable were he not so. But it should be said that he does not rigidly standardize one general structural procedure and organize each sermon according to it (indeed, he draws from such eclectic sources and in such a way that it would be exceedingly difficult for him to regiment these sources in exactly the same manner in every sermon). Conformity to any such standardized procedure seems for him to have been of no urgency whatsoever.⁴⁷ Consequently, while the sermons share many local techniques characteristic of “modern” sermon procedure, such as the *distinctio* and *divisio*, the principles determining the general structure of each sermon may be varied and less machanical. Such general sermon structures as are typically prescribed by the *artes predicandi* are not adopted slavishly, though Felton is prepared to reproduce them should it so suit him.⁴⁸ One result of his flexible approach is that we glimpse

⁴⁶ If the *Sermones dominicales* are a reflex of anything Felton may have preached in the vernacular, they are *de facto* a sophistication, and of a more strictly “literary” manufacture. Moreover, some of his sources, for example, the Lombard and Holcot in his Holy Innocents sermon (see Appendix 1, lines 30 and 92), and occasional technicalities in his discussion (see, for example, Appendix 1, lines 152-72), emphasize the learned, academic and consultative value of his *Sermones*, rather than any suitability for instant conversion into vernacular preaching appropriate to laity. The assumption I make, that the *Sermones* are a sophistication *after* the event rather than before it, is based on likelihood. Felton compiled the *Sermones* in 1431, only three years before he died. It seems therefore more than likely that he would have drawn principally on the amassed preaching experience of his earlier years and on the materials he had used in those years when he decided to put the cycle together.

⁴⁷ For some writers, on the other hand, comparative rigidity of structure seems to have been most important. The thirteenth-century Nicholas de Aquavilla, for example, a sermon compiler who was enjoying a considerable vogue in the fifteenth century both in his original Latin and in the vernacular, tends to adhere to a highly mechanical and predictable procedure of sermon organization. (On the fifteenth-century interest in Nicholas, see H. L. Spencer, “English Vernacular Sunday Preaching in the Late Fourteenth Century and Fifteenth Century, with Illustrative Texts,” unpublished D.Phil. thesis [Oxford, 1982], 1:274-82, and for additional examples, A. J. Fletcher, “The Preaching of the Pardoner,” *Studies in the Age of Chaucer* 11 [1989]: 15-35.)

⁴⁸ As he does, for example, in his second sermon for the fifth Sunday after Trinity, the one lifted mainly from Jacobus. Here he inherits the structure from his source. Felton’s practice is wholly typical of his time, when many examples show that sermon theory is being liberally interpreted in actual sermon practice. Cases where theory and practice are fully syncretized appear fewer than cases where they are not. On the evolution of “modern” sermon form in actual practice as opposed to theory, see R. H. Rouse and M. A. Rouse, *Preaching, Florilegia and Sermons: Studies on the “Manipulus florum” of Thomas of Ireland*, *Studies and Texts* 47 (Toronto, 1979), 65-90. The theoretical statements of “modern” form,

him at work as much in the orchestration of his commonplaces as in their particular selection. Two examples may serve to give a clearer impression of his ways of working. The first, selected from his Epistle-based sermons, is the sermon for the feast of the Holy Innocents, and the second is the first of the two sermons for the fifth Sunday after Trinity.⁴⁹

The sermon for Holy Innocents proceeds in the following manner.⁵⁰ After the announcement of the theme, "Sequuntur agnum," Felton briefly explains its meaning and the various ways in which the Holy Innocents may be interpreted as having followed the Lamb. He then repeats the theme (in this sermon, if a *Pater noster* and an *Ave* were recited before the repetition of the theme, they are not mentioned) and proceeds to divide it into two parts, one part per word: "sequuntur," which is glossed as "on acte þat nedis gude avysement," and "agnum," which is glossed as "a best þat is mild *and* innocent." Each part of the *divisio*, that is, each Latin word and its gloss, is then digested and combined in a vernacular couplet:

Wo so wil sew *without* any reuyng,
 Paym nedis to acorde *with* þe lambe in þayre leuyng.⁵¹

Felton goes on to say that there are four *duces* who invite a man to follow them: Asmodeus, who incites gluttony, sloth, and lechery; Mammon, who incites covetousness and avarice; Lucifer, who incites wrath and pride; and Christ, who moves men to charity. Each of these has his own army, and Felton gives examples in turn of the types and qualities of the people from whom the armies are stocked. Next, he lists seven animals. First, there are those, he says, who follow the lion, and he illustrates their types and conditions, adding a brief selection of corroborating *exempla* and *similitudines*. Others follow the dog, and cases of wrath and envy are illustrated.

embodied in the *artes predicandi*, are discussed in several places, but see J. J. Murphy, *Rhetoric in the Middle Ages: A History of Rhetorical Theory from Saint Augustine to the Renaissance* (Berkeley, 1974), 269-342; also, D. L. d'Avray, "The Transformation of the Medieval Sermon," unpublished D.Phil. thesis (Oxford, 1976), 92-110, though less readily available, is excellent. A convenient, if brief, recent survey is in S. Wenzel, *Preachers, Poets and the Early English Lyric* (Princeton, 1986), 61-72.

⁴⁹ The selection is finally arbitrary, although a case is arguable for choosing an anomalous, Epistle-based sermon for comparison with a more regular, Gospel-based one. *V* has been consulted for both sermons, and it is the source of the text printed below in Appendixes 1 and 2.

⁵⁰ *V*, fols. 278vb-279vb. See Appendix 1. Spencer, "English Vernacular Sunday Preaching," 1:267-73, includes a more detailed summary of this sermon's content.

⁵¹ As far as I am aware, the use of a vernacular couplet at this point to combine both the sense of the Latin and the sense of the English gloss seems to be unusual, not only within the *Sermones*, but also within fifteenth-century preaching practice in general.

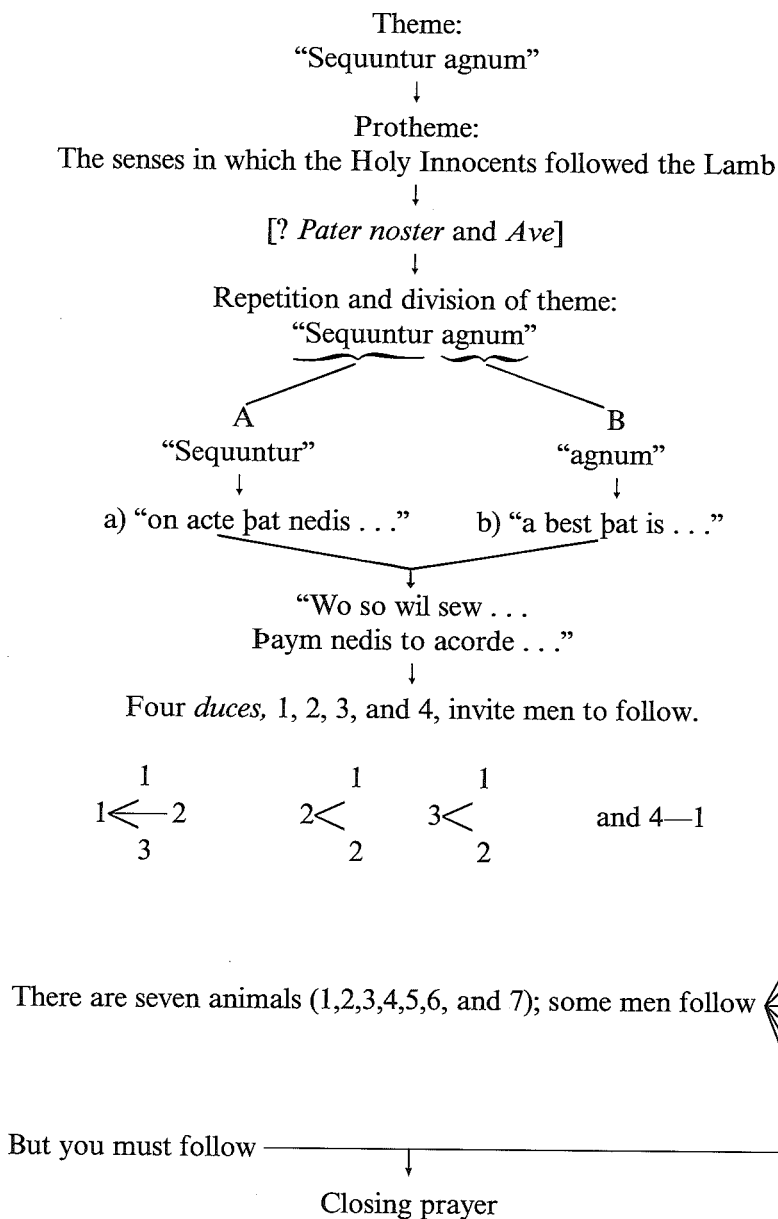
Detractors and slanderers follow the hyena, the natural habits of which are moralized. Some follow the wolf, whose characteristics are covetousness and avarice. Those who follow the pig are gluttonous and slothful,⁵² and the goat is followed by those who follow lechery. The sermon then concludes recommending that this sinful menagerie be avoided and the Lamb followed instead. Immediately after the sermon's closing prayer,⁵³ there follows a column of extra material which appears to be included for the preacher's information, and which presumably could be used to amplify the sermon should he so wish.⁵⁴

The structure of the sermon could be represented diagrammatically as follows:

⁵² This section contains the only English proverb of the collection, translating "circulus aureus in naribus suis, mulier pulcra et fatua" (Prov 11:22) as "A gold ryng in a sowis wrott: a fayre womman and a sotte." (The proverb was known to Chaucer and appears in the Prologue to *The Wife of Bath's Tale*; see L. D. Benson, gen. ed., *The Riverside Chaucer*, 3d ed. (Boston, 1987), p. 115, lines 784-85.)

⁵³ These concluding prayers in Felton are for the most part variations on the wish that Christ may bring both preacher and congregation at last to heaven. "Quod nobis concedat Christus Ihesus. Amen" or "Quod nobis Christus concedat qui sine fine vivit et regnat. Amen" (both again with small variations) are also popular.

⁵⁴ The material, not included here on the diagram, explains that four groups of people are excluded from the Lamb's paschal feast. Heretics constitute the first of these. The material ends with an orthodox statement of Christian possession: each Christian must be poor, having nothing in proper or in common, like the mendicants; or having nothing in proper but in common, like the "religiosi possessionati"; or having possessions both in common and in proper ("secundum iustitiam currentem"), provided that the heart is not set upon them. Each Christian must be obedient to God, to the Church, and to "prelatum amonitis et licitis preceptis." This passage was perhaps included in implicit denunciation of recent heretical teaching on possession propounded by the Lollards and emanating originally from Oxford (the question of possession recurs in Lollard works; see especially M. Aston, "'Caim's Castles': Poverty, Politics and Disendowment" in *The Church, Politics and Patronage*, ed. R. B. Dobson [Gloucester, 1984], 45-81; also, A. Hudson, *Selections from English Wycliffite Writings* [Cambridge, 1978], p. 22, lines 139-45, and notes thereon, p. 149). Furthermore, Felton denounces the Lollards explicitly (they are not named, but their doctrine is unmistakable) in his second Easter sermon, "Acceperunt corpus Ihesus": "heretici, tamen, dicunt quod in hoc venerabili sacramento post consecracionem materiam panis naturalis et quod hoc sacramentum non est realiter corpus Christi" (V, fol. 298rb).



This sermon falls approximately into three sections, the first ending with the couplet "We so wil sew . . .," the second after the account of the four *duces* who beckon to men, and the third comprises the remainder of the sermon where men are presented as following different animals. The sections

are coherently and distinctly linked, but in a manner which is associative rather than strictly logical. Essentially, one principal idea, that of "following," acts as the cohesive motif, unifying the three sections in one general structure.⁵⁵ The first section speaks of following the Lamb, the second, of the four *duces* who bid men follow them, and the third, of the seven various animals whose habits are followed by their human emulators. The general structure of the sermon is, in short, thematic and associative, while locally, on the other hand, each of the three sections has a tight and systematically consecutive structure of its own, modelled broadly upon the principles of the *divisio* and *distinctio*.

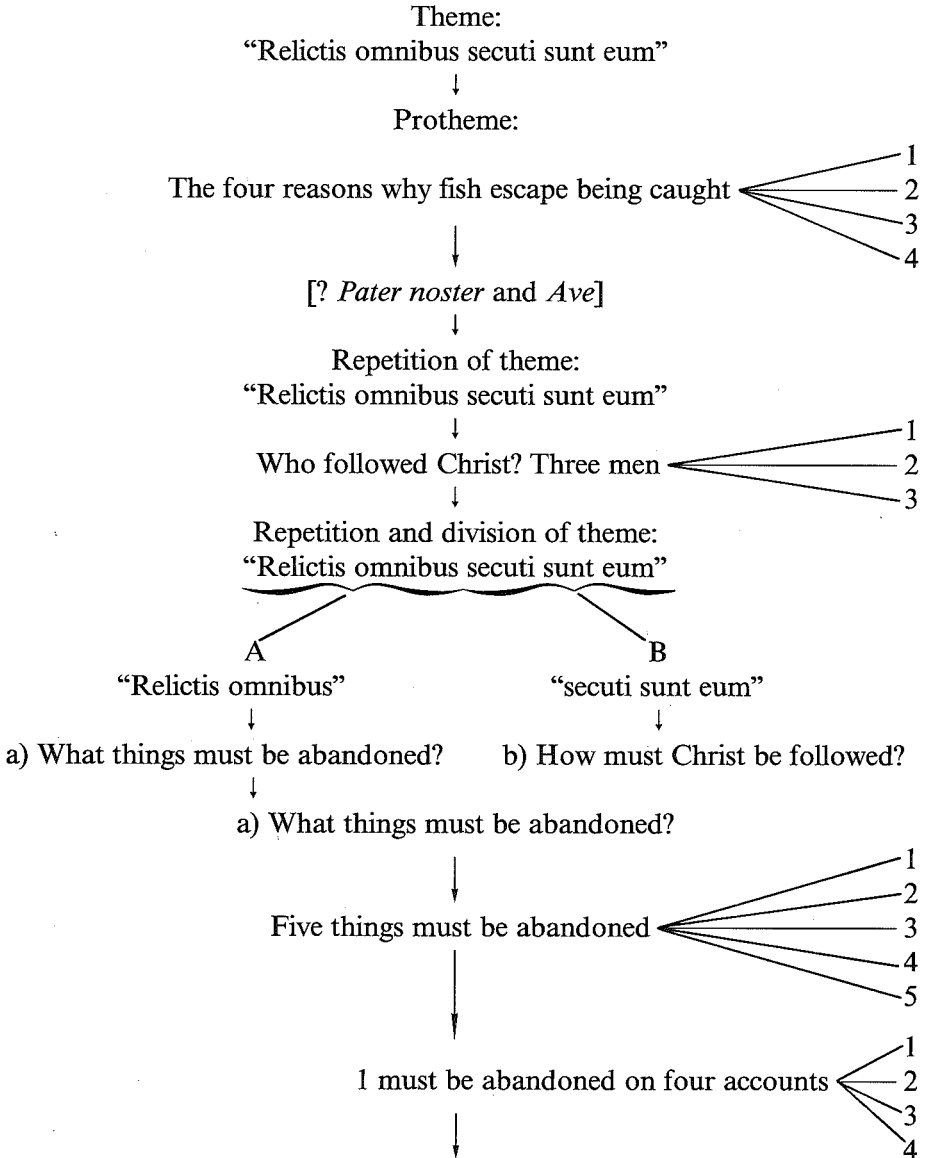
A comparison of this sermon with the second example will illustrate the breadth of Felton's approach to the business of sermon organization. He offers two sermons for the fifth Sunday after Trinity. The second, as was noted, is substantially lifted without remark from Jacobus de Voragine, and as such gives little insight into Felton's personal preferences in matters of sermon arrangement, even if it does point to the eminent position that Jacobus held in his source repertoire. However, since Felton's first sermon for the fifth Sunday after Trinity is manifestly a compilation, his hand shaping its construction is more readily apparent. For example, it borrows again from the same Jacobus sermon, but only for its protheme,⁵⁶ and indeed, this time only from that portion of the Jacobus sermon where sinners are compared to four varieties of fish and where there is a discussion of the ways in which fish elude the nets of the preacher. Moreover, though Felton takes over Jacobus's piscatorial conceits and keeps them in the same order, he exchanges Jacobus's rather long explanations of the types of sinners the fish represent for shorter and substantially different ones of his own, giving them added popular appeal in his use of the similitude of the ass and the *exemplum* of the unrepentant gentleman, which Jacobus does not include. The precise locations of all of the sermon's sources have not been traced, but its character as a compilation, pieced together out of disparate materials, is underscored by Felton's acknowledged use of the *Fasciculus*

⁵⁵ A lesser motif based upon the animals of the sermon, which moves from the Lamb to the six "sinful" beasts (lion, dog, hyena, wolf, pig and goat) and then back to the Lamb again, also lends unity. (It might be noted that the lion of pride is amplified with illustrations selected from "natura, arte et figura," a threefold technique favoured by Felton as its appearance in the Passion Sunday sermon discussed below also witnesses. The first and third illustrations, those from "natura" and "figura," feature additional creatures—the beautiful but deadly serpent in the first, and the cock who terrifies the lion [that is, the preacher who terrifies the proud man] in the third.)

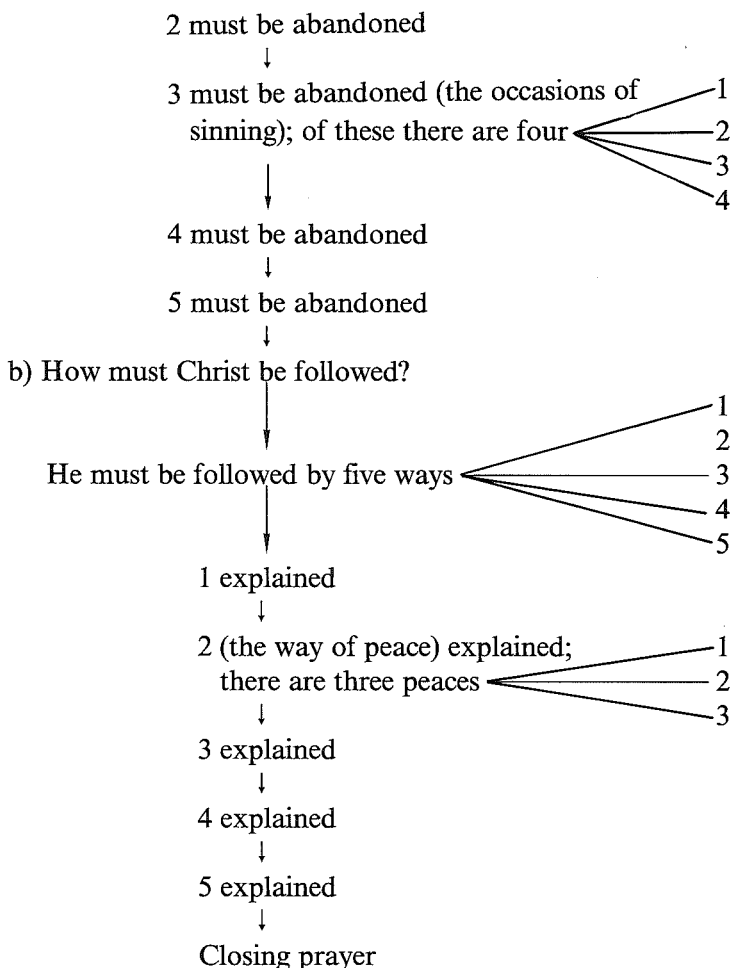
⁵⁶ Compare the Jacobus material found in Oxford, Bodleian Library Bodley 320, fols. 119vb-120ra, with V, fol. 313ra (see Appendix 2, lines 2-34).

morum, by his unacknowledged use of Nicholas de Aquevilla, and also by his possible use of a work by "Lincolniensis."⁵⁷

The structure of this sermon, summarized diagrammatically, is as follows:



⁵⁷ This work, the *De venenis*, was probably not written by Grosseteste at all (see S. H. Thomson, *The Writings of Robert Grosseteste* [Cambridge, 1940], 268-70). Moreover, a search in the copy of the *De venenis* contained in Bodleian Library Bodley 122 has not yielded a parallel for what Felton cites (see below, Appendix 2, lines 174-75).



The general structure of this sermon is managed rather differently from that of the Holy Innocents sermon. Its organization is far more systematic and symmetrical, and its cohesion is correspondingly less dependent on the associative development of ideas.⁵⁸ Yet like the Holy Innocents sermon, it too makes use of the *divisio* and *distinctio*. Endemic in Felton's sermons is their strong sense of structure, and this is not surprising, given Felton's evident nurturing in a preaching ethos which had evolved habitual forms by means of which it could order thought.⁵⁹ Nevertheless, the nature of

⁵⁸ The symmetry is partly the result of the sermon's heavy dependence on Nicholas de Aquevilla (see below, Appendix 2, lines 35-154 and 193 to the end).

⁵⁹ On this, see d'Avray, *Preaching of the Friars*, passim.

that structure can vary significantly from one sermon to the next; it varies between what might be called the organic, as in the Holy Innocents sermon, and the systematic, as in the first sermon for the fifth Sunday after Trinity. In this versatility Felton displays a measure of independence as an author and compiler of sermons; such latitude helps emancipate him from that consistency of approach which in the province of sermon organization, no less than in any other, may prove an easy refuge for the unimaginative.

FELTON AS REDACTOR AND READER

Felton made economical use of his efforts at redaction, for he may have turned some of their results to his own ends during the compilation of the *Sermones*. An abridgment of the alphabetical *distinctio* collection, the *Pera peregrini*, which the St. John's College manuscript attributes to him, has already been referred to, and indeed the *Pera peregrini* is cited at least once in the *Sermones*.⁶⁰ Felton may also have prepared an epitome of a Pseudo-Grosseteste work. Bale in his *Index* mentions that Felton compiled an "Opus alphabeticum ex Lincolniensi, de oculo, corde, lingua et venenis."⁶¹ On the face of it, it is plausible that Felton might redact work by so influential an author as Grosseteste, and he does in fact cite "Lincolniensis" occasionally as a source in the *Sermones*, as was seen in the sermon that has just been discussed, his first for the fifth Sunday after Trinity, where "Lincolniensis *De venenis*" is quoted.⁶² Cambridge, University Library Ii.1.30, fols. 126r-195v, contains a work with the incipit that Bale gives for the "Opus alphabeticum," which he claims Felton compiled ("Accidia adversatur hominis saluti"), though the Cambridge copy makes no overt ascription of the work to Felton.⁶³ A second reason for thinking that the work "Accidia adversatur hominis saluti" may indeed be a copy of that same work which Bale claimed that Felton compiled is the fact that it draws upon the "Grosseteste" sources that Bale mentions, the "de oculo, corde, lingua et venenis."⁶⁴ Unless another copy of "Accidia adversatur hominis saluti" can be traced which explicitly links the work with Felton, however, the suggestion that Felton was responsible for it can only rely on Bale's authority, and Bale's information is somewhat compromised by the fact that he attributes

⁶⁰ See *V*, fol. 319ra.

⁶¹ R.L. Poole, ed., *Index Britanniae Scriptorum* (Oxford, 1902), 206.

⁶² The marginal apparatus of the *Sermones dominicales* in *V* notes "Lincolniensis de venenis" twice (see n. 38 above for the location).

⁶³ As yet I am aware of no further copies.

⁶⁴ For example, "hec Lincolniensis tractatu de venenis, capitulo de accidia" (fol. 126r); "hec Lincolniensis de lingua, parte secunda, capitulo sexto" (fol. 195v); etc.

a work with exactly the same incipit also to William of Nottingham.⁶⁵ Bale says that a copy of this "William of Nottingham" version of "Accidia adversatur hominis saluti" was in the collection of Ramsey Abbey. Although it does not necessarily follow from all this that Bale's ascription to Felton should be impugned, there seems no way of checking his assertion.

A final example of Felton as redactor, which has a much surer footing, is the survival of a *tabula* which he seems to have prepared for the *Sermones quadragesimales* of Jacobus de Voragine. Oxford, Jesus College 45a is a fifteenth-century compilation, containing both the *Sermones dominicales* of Jacobus and his *Sermones quadragesimales*. Each collection is preceded by a *tabula*, but the one accompanying the *Sermones quadragesimales* bears the following note in a hand of the second half of the fifteenth century:

Explicit tabula bona secundum compilacionem domini Iohannis Felton,
quondam vicarij beate Magdalene Oxoniensis. . . .⁶⁶

It might be remarked that this manuscript, like so many connected with Felton, appears to have been an Oxford product.⁶⁷ Its *tabula* to the *Sermones quadragesimales* is similar to that which appears in another apparent Oxford copy of the *Sermones quadragesimales*, in University College 109.⁶⁸ It is difficult to know why Felton wished to compile such a *tabula*, unless none of the *Sermones quadragesimales* manuscripts that he saw had a *tabula*, or unless he found any such *tabulae* inadequate for his purposes.⁶⁹

In all of Felton's redactorial activity, then, even allowing that the case of the "Accidia adversatur hominis saluti" text is unproven, there appears a common factor. He has an eye to practicality and not least, perhaps, an eye to his own convenience. In striving to facilitate a reader's access to his chosen text he shows himself to be a traditionalist and an heir to preoccupations becoming noticeably prominent from the thirteenth century onwards.⁷⁰ At the same time, if we leave aside the problematic "Accidia adversatur hominis saluti," the two other works which Felton can more confidently be said to have produced, the abridgment of the *Pera peregrini* collection of *distinctiones* and the *tabula* to the *Sermones quadragesimales*

⁶⁵ Poole, *Index*, 140.

⁶⁶ Oxford, Jesus College 45a, fol. 240v.

⁶⁷ The evidence is codicological; see n. 33 above.

⁶⁸ The evidence is again codicological; see n. 33 above.

⁶⁹ This may never be ascertainable, even should further work on the *tabulae* of the *Sermones quadragesimales* be undertaken. It might be noted, for example, that alternative *tabulae* existed, for in Bodley 823, another copy of the *Sermones quadragesimales* (but of indeterminate provenance), the *tabula* on fols. v-xvii is quite different from that in Jesus College 45a.

⁷⁰ On this, see Rouse and Rouse, *Thomas of Ireland*, 26-36.

of Jacobus, were of particular interest to preachers. Felton's concern with preaching evidently extended beyond an assiduous discharge of personal preaching responsibility to include also the tools and fabrics from which preaching might be wrought.

Throughout this survey of the sources that Felton favoured for his own *Sermones*, and of the sources that he chose to redact, a profile has been emerging incidentally of him as a reader. To the material he read, or at least to which he had ready access, might also be added the two manuscript books which were once in his possession and which he is recorded to have donated in 1420 to Balliol College, its MSS 8 (a mid-thirteenth-century collection containing Augustine on Genesis, eighty-three *questiones* of Augustine, and a portion of Isidore's *Etymologiae*) and 76 (an early fifteenth-century collection containing, for the most part, Petrus de Salinis on the *Decretum*).⁷¹ It is not surprising that Balliol should be the beneficiary of such a donation, since its links with the church of St. Mary Magdalen by Felton's time were deep and longstanding. Late in the thirteenth century the lady Devorguilla de Balliol had repaired or extended the north aisle of the church as a temporary chapel for her college, and evidently the relationship struck up between church and college was being maintained.⁷² Since Felton worked in Oxford during the last years of his life, however, the literature to which he had demonstrable access probably represents the tip of an iceberg, for he was ideally placed to avail of a rare wealth of literary holdings. Even so, he seems by and large to have avoided quotation from exotic or *recherché* sources. Such citations as one from a comparatively out-of-the-way source, a *distinctio* collection compiled by a certain "frater Mauricius," would seem the exception.⁷³

⁷¹ R. A. B. Mynors, *Catalogue of the Manuscripts of Balliol College Oxford* (Oxford, 1963), 7 and 60-62.

⁷² Crossley, *A History of the County of Oxford* 4:389.

⁷³ This is not the commonest of *distinctio* collections; compare Felton's *distinctio* on the word "ager" in *V*, fol. 284rb, with its source in "frater Mauricius" as witnessed in Oxford, Bodleian Library Bodley 46, fol. 9va. Felton has reduced Maurice's fivefold *distinctio* ("ager mundi, cordis, religionis, contemplacionis, eternitatis") to a threefold one ("ager cordis, contemplacionis, eternitatis"). Any large-scale account of Felton's sources must await a full edition of the *Sermones dominicales*, but amongst sources less frequently drawn on, like "frater Mauricius," are included several others, as, for example, the anonymous work beginning "Accidiosus siue piger est fertilis ad multiplicandum vicia" (Bodley 542, fols. 155r-242r) which is four times noted in the margins of *V* as the "tractatus qui incipit accidiosus" (compare, for example, the quotations in *V*, fols. 288vb and 302ra, with Bodley 542, fols. 239r and 186r respectively).

BEYOND OXFORD

For all that Felton applied himself to stirring up the consciences of the people of the Isis “frequenti concione,” he was also concious of the wider audience which, though unreachable by his preaching, might perhaps be accessible via his works; his writings could carry where his words could not. Like the earlier writer of the prologue to the vernacular Bible, Felton too knew that “word and wind and man’s mind is full short, but letter written dwelleth.”⁷⁴ Moreover, indexing and abridging could open up to preachers material useful for their own sermons, and Felton’s *Sermones dominicales* were themselves not to be issued without the provision of a well-organized *tabula* by means of which prospective users could quarry out whatever topics particularly interested them.⁷⁵ Only the *Sermones*, however, would command Oxford’s serious attention after Felton’s death, as the multiplication of manuscript copies there testifies, even though his efforts at indexing and abridging were certainly also noted by Oxford scribes with respect.⁷⁶ Once taken up by copyists at the University, the *Sermones* were likely to start finding the wider audience that Felton had originally envisaged. Before 1448, down in Canterbury at the Benedictine house of St. Augustine’s, the monk William Chartham had evidently acquired a copy of the *Sermones* from which he took excerpts for use in the compilation of his own *Speculum parvulorum*,⁷⁷ thereby showing how the *Sermones* might serve the turn of a reader—and a young one at that, from Chartham’s point of view⁷⁸—as much as that of a preacher. Nearly twenty years later in Writtle, Essex, one Master Thomas Holme copied the *Sermones* into what is now preserved as Oxford, New College 305.⁷⁹ The circumstances surrounding his doing so are mysterious; he was not the vicar there, for

⁷⁴ J. Forshall and F. Madden, eds., *The Holy Bible* (Oxford, 1850), vol. 1, p. xiv, note k. The quotation appears amongst the Lollard tracts contained in Cambridge, University Library li.6.26.

⁷⁵ The alphabetical *tabula* or index (incipit: “Abraham vidit”), which accompanies many of the manuscripts, appears to be original. It works as follows. The sermons are numbered, one to fifty-eight. Each is divided into sections of varying numbers of lines, and each section is indicated by a marginal letter, A, B, C, etc. (as many as nine sections, i.e., up to letter J, may be found). The alphabetical index then cites its topic with a number (i.e., that of the sermon) and a letter (i.e., that sermon’s section), in which the topic appears.

⁷⁶ Esteem is implicit in such notes as that contained in Oxford, Jesus College 45a, fol. 240v, cited above.

⁷⁷ From fol. 305v of *M* onwards, Chartham has excerpted material from Felton’s sermon for the fourth Sunday in Lent, followed by material from his first Easter Sunday sermon.

⁷⁸ Part of the prologue to the *Speculum parvulorum* is translated and printed in Wenzel, *Verses in Sermons*, 42–43. The prologue is found in *M*, fol. 1r–v.

⁷⁹ Emden, *Register* 2:953. Emden records Holme as “Holmere,” “probably of Oxford,” but gives no further information on him apart from his copying of *U*.

in 1467, the date of Holme's copying, that position was occupied by one Henry Harling,⁸⁰ and so it would seem that Holme cannot have copied it for his own use in the cure of souls at Writtle, unless perhaps he was acting as Harling's deputy. May it be that Harling commissioned Holme to write it for him? Whatever the truth of this, Writtle had become a living in the gift of New College since 1399, and by one means or another the manuscript eventually found its way there.⁸¹ Precisely how the *Sermones* may have been used in Writtle, and by whom, we cannot tell, but it is at least likely that in any sermons preached there, any of Felton's text that may have been drawn on, whether extensively or selectively, would have been turned into English, just as Felton himself possibly once preached in English some of the same material which he subsequently recorded in Latin. Felton seems to have had a less pessimistic opinion than some of his contemporaries about the standard of clerical Latinity: "repetatur thema et anglicetur" is the confident instruction found more than once to would-be preachers using his collection.⁸² With the rendering of the *Sermones* from élite Latin into popular English, Felton's wider audience comes once more into view, and when the *Sermones* are found recorded in English, the wheel has probably turned full circle, returning them to the vernacular in which Felton no doubt delivered them if he ever actually preached them in some form or other before his Oxford congregations.

An example of Felton's reincarnation in English has come to light in one of the sermons of Gloucester, Cathedral Library 22, as may more examples when the unpublished corpus of Middle English sermon literature has been further investigated.⁸³ The Gloucester manuscript is in three parts, all copied late in the fifteenth century.⁸⁴ The first and third are written by

⁸⁰ J. H. Upton, *A History of Writtle Church in the County of Essex* (Guildford, 1930), 140.

⁸¹ Upton, *Writtle Church*, 7-8 and 11. It looks as if from either Holme or Harling, *U* came next into the hands of William Porter before New College acquired it. Folio 3r records his ownership: "Liber Willelmi Porter Custodis collegij beate marie Winton In Oxon." Porter (†1524) was admitted as a New College scholar in 1468 (see Emden, *Register* 3:1503).

⁸² As, for example, at *V*, fol. 286va.

⁸³ Some recent new directions have been broached by Veronica O'Mara, "A Checklist of Unedited Late Middle English Sermons that Occur Singly or in Small Groups," *Leeds Studies in English*, n.s., 19 (1988): 141-66. Dr. O'Mara tells me that she has not noticed use of Felton in the course of her own work, but much more remains to be done in this area.

⁸⁴ The manuscript has been described most recently by S. Powell, ed., *The Advent and Nativity Sermons from a Fifteenth-Century Revision of John Mirk's Festial*, Middle English Texts 13 (Heidelberg, 1981), 11-13. Additional information may be found in earlier descriptions by A. J. Fletcher, "A Critical Edition of Selected Sermons from an Unpublished Fifteenth-Century de Tempore Sermon Cycle," unpublished B.Litt. thesis (Oxford, 1978), pp. xxix-xxxiii; N. R. Ker, *Medieval Manuscripts in British Libraries*, 3 vols. (Oxford, 1969-

the same scribe, who produces a script of basic Secretary type, with an admixture of Anglicana graphs. The second part is written in a distinctive and idiosyncratic hand, composed basically of Anglicana graphs.⁸⁵ Since the three parts seem to have been bound together soon after their manufacture,⁸⁶ and since in all likelihood the scribe of the second part was working commercially,⁸⁷ the whole of Gloucester 22 was probably produced professionally for a book market rather than compiled for personal use. It is not known who first translated the material taken from Felton's Passion Sunday sermon, for use in a sermon headed "Sermo pro anima" (retaining Felton's theme, "Exivit de templo" [Jn 8:58]), which appears on pages 24 to 33 of Gloucester 22. The route by which the translation found its way to the compiler of the first part of this manuscript is also not known. What is clear is that by the late fifteenth century, Felton was still considered saleable, though according to the Gloucester version at least, not in as full a form as he chose to record himself in Latin. Indeed, length is the most striking difference between Felton's original Passion Sunday sermon and its vernacular reworking. The Gloucester redactor evidently found Felton's text copious, if not too ample for his own more modest requirements. Those parts of it that the recactor chose to preserve are perhaps diagnostic of his taste and of what he considered to make an appropriate *pabulum* for the congregations he had in mind. Moreover, in reducing the quantity of Felton's text, he also obliterates its structure. This is not to say, however, that the redactor rendered shapeless what Felton originally wrote. Though he might be judged a little latitudinarian in terms of the theoretical recommendations about sermon composition,⁸⁸ he has imposed upon the material a firm structure of his own and one of a very different sort from that which Felton engineered. The Gloucester redactor was a man who, though vastly obliged to his source, was not abjectly deferential to it.⁸⁹

83), 2:955-56; K. I. Sandred, *A Middle English Version of the Gesta Romanorum* (Uppsala, 1971), 11-24. D. S. Brewer, "Observations on a Fifteenth-Century Manuscript," *Anglia* 72 (1954): 390-99, also has several points of descriptive detail. To Brewer is owed the discovery of the use of Felton in this sermon.

⁸⁵ In terminology I follow M. B. Parkes, *English Cursive Book Hands 1250-1500* (Oxford, 1969). I am grateful to Dr. Parkes for his opinion on the hand of this scribe. The thick, tapering descenders of letters are a prominent feature of the scribe's hand.

⁸⁶ Powell, *Fifteenth-Century Revision*, 12.

⁸⁷ As argued in Fletcher, *Selected Sermons*, pp. xxv-xxvi. The work of this scribe is the only late fifteenth-century instance I know of where there is a "mass production" by the same man of what is basically the same vernacular sermon cycle.

⁸⁸ See n. 48 above.

⁸⁹ While it might be difficult to prove his way of working an implicit criticism of his source, this remains a possibility. Another possibility is that he simply required a much shorter sermon, but at the same time he would not leave it without coherent structure.

His handling of his source is best illustrated first by a brief description of its form and content and then by an examination of what he has done to it. Felton's Passion Sunday sermon, another of the *Sermones dominicales* organized according to an organic association of ideas rather than to some extrinsically imposed, broadly symmetrical structure of the *divisio* and its *subdivisiones*, is, if anything, even more associative in this respect than was the sermon on the Holy Innocents. Its theme, "Exivit de templo," is announced, followed by an account of the deeds of Judas Maccabeus, which are subsequently explained *figurative*. Before the repetition of the theme, the congregation is asked to pray (presumably a *Pater noster* and an *Ave*).⁹⁰ The theme is repeated and its word "templum" isolated as if to form the basis of a primary *divisio* of the theme. Yet Felton does not proceed formally to distinguish some fixed number of "templa" for development later in the sermon; rather he simply says, "Sciendum est quod multiplex templum habetur in sacra scriptura."⁹¹ Such informality paves the way for his associative approach to sermon construction. He distinguishes his first type of temple, heaven, which Christ left at his Incarnation, and his second type, the Virgin's womb, which Christ left when he was born into the world and when "se armavit teneris armis et venit ad stadium mundi pugnaturus cum hoste generis humani."⁹² But hereafter, varieties of temple cease to interest Felton, and apart from one last echo of the theme brought in towards the end of the sermon in a passage where Christ reproaches men and calls upon them to gaze on his wounds, the theme ceases to have much consequence upon the rest of the sermon's structure. After the second type of temple, then, Felton introduces a threefold *distinctio* on the way Christ's death is shown ("mors Cristi potest ostendi natura, arte et figura"),⁹³ and each branch of the *distinctio* is colourfully and lengthily illustrated. (It is the illustration of the second branch that has particularly attracted the Gloucester redactor, for his translation of it fills a good quarter of his sermon.)⁹⁴ Then there comes another threefold *distinctio* on the three reasons why Christ's Passion

⁹⁰ See n. 44 above.

⁹¹ V, fol. 293vb.

⁹² V, fol. 293vb.

⁹³ V, fol. 293vb.

⁹⁴ It may be the emotive nature of the narrative chosen to illustrate the second branch that has commended itself to the redactor. Though affective meditation on Christ's Passion in later medieval art and literature is too well known for comment, its longevity within preaching deserves brief mention: it is interesting to see the Reformation bishop Roger Edgeworth, for example, even if he is of the Conservative Henrician party, continuing the tradition. See J. W. Blench, *Preaching in England in the Late Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries* (Oxford, 1964), 260-61; other examples from sermons by Fisher and Longland are cited there. The narrative of the three Jews is printed with Felton's text in Appendix 3 below.

should be borne in mind, followed by a fourfold *distinctio* on the four reasons why Christ wished to suffer. Next, a threefold *distinctio* tells of the three ways of rousing those who sleep; the explanation of its first branch further comprises a pair of related threefold *distinctiones* on the three meals to be prepared for Christ in the heart of man and the three better meals that Christ will then prepare for man in return. After a *distinctio* on the waking of slumberers has been disposed of, there follows an account of the Seven Arrows of the Day of Judgment. The address by Christ to sinful man, mentioned above as containing the last echo of the theme, follows this, and then comes the final flourish of the *distinctio* in this *distinctio*-laden sermon, the three things likely to drive a man out of his house (smoke, a leaky roof, and a chiding wife).⁹⁵ The sermon concludes by reciting a Charter of Christ to mankind (beginning "Sciant presentes et futuri, scilicet, omnes qui sunt in celo et terra, quod ego Ihesus Cristus . . . pro hereditate me<a> iniuste et prodiciose a meis ablata diu sub manu adversarii detenta, teste toto mundo in stadio pugnavi adversarium . . ." and dated *Anno Mundi* 5232),⁹⁶ derived possibly from the *Fasciculus morum*,⁹⁷ though without notice, and a final prayer.

⁹⁵ This rather arch sentiment became proverbial (see B. J. and H. W. Whiting, *Proverbs, Sentences, and Proverbial Phrases from English Writings Mainly Before 1500* (Cambridge, Mass., 1968), 586-87, T 187), but it is virtually assimilated to *distinctio* form by its triadic structure. Felton was fond of it. He used it again in his sermon for the fifteenth Sunday after Trinity, for example (*V*, fol. 324va). It was known also both to Chaucer and Langland. (In Chaucer, it appears in the Prologue to *The Wife of Bath's Tale* and *The Tale of Melibee* [see Benson, *Chaucer*, p. 108, lines 278-80 and p. 221, lines 1085-86 respectively], and in *Piers Plowman*, B.XVII.318-29 [see A. V. C. Schmidt, ed., *The Vision of Piers Plowman* (London, 1978), 218].) An important early source for it is in Innocent III's *De miseria condicionis humane* (see R. E. Lewis, ed., *Lotario Dei Segni [Pope Innocent III] De miseria condicionis humane* [Athens, Ga., 1978], p. 121, lines 33-4).

⁹⁶ The year 5232 on the *Anno Mundi* system of chronology would appear to make the Charter date to the first year of Christ's reign in heaven after his Ascension (the *Anno Mundi* dating of Christ's birth and death are the years 5199 and 5231 respectively). I am obliged to Dr. Peter J. Lucas for helpful discussion on this dating system.

⁹⁷ Compare Oxford, Bodleian Library Rawlinson C.670, fol. 30v. There is a complication here, however. None of the *Fasciculus* manuscripts that I have consulted contains the moralization of the Charter that appears in Felton's version which invokes civil law: "Dicunt enim iura civilia quod filius habens patrem suum interfectum non potest vindicare hereditatem patris sui . . ." (compare *V*, fol. 295ra). Felton's version may be an expansion of that in the *Fasciculus*. (It cannot, however, be entirely ruled out that the version that he transmits is a more faithful witness to a source also available to the author of the *Fasciculus*, but which the *Fasciculus* author shortened.) If Felton's version really is an expanded variant of that in the *Fasciculus*, either he expanded it himself or the expansion had already been made in Felton's source. The appending of the "Felton" version as a discrete item at the end of a copy of Nicholas de Aquavilla's *Sermones dominicales* in London, British Library Add. 21253, on fol. 186r-v, suggests that the version may have been circulating by itself at least by the fifteenth century. (The Charter of Christ was popular with preachers; compare

From Felton's welter of *distinctiones* the Gloucester redactor retains only one, the three meals that ought to be served up for Christ's supper in every man's heart.⁹⁸ He begins his sermon with a prayer:

Exiuit de templo, Iohannis viij°. Thema et huius collacionis exordio. Allmyghty Gode, of hom comyth all goodnes, *vertu and grace*, yef me *grace* at þis tyme so to seye þe worde of God þat it may be to þy plesure, þi praysyng and to þy blessyd modur virgyn, þat pure vessell i-chosyn; edyfyeng to þe saluacion of þe sowlis þat ben here att þis tyme. Amen.⁹⁹

This prayer, seemingly his own addition, replaces the much longer introduction to Felton's sermon and traditionally enough invokes God and the Blessed Virgin, petitioning for grace to fructify "þe worde of God" preached in the sermon.¹⁰⁰ For the rest, while the substance of what the redactor says depends mainly on Felton, he often reorganizes his source and sometimes radically digests it. Immediately after the introductory prayer, he continues, "Mastrys and fryndis, þer be many cawsys why Criste suffyrd hys Passyon. But þer be iij specyall," thus introducing the congregation to the threefold scheme that his sermon will follow. Because there is no repetition of the theme before this threefold scheme is announced, and, more importantly, because the scheme is not connected to the theme in any apparent way, one hesitates to describe it as a thematic *divisio*, and yet in effect this is how it functions in terms of the general organization of his sermon. This threefold "*divisio*" is actually another piece of tailored Felton, an appropriation of his fourfold *distinctio* on the reasons why Christ wished to suffer, with its first, second, and fourth branches retained and expanded, but with its third docked completely. When the redactor has finished discussing each section of his "*divisio*," he repeats the theme "Exiuit de templo" at the end of it before passing on to the next, and this he does consistently, with the result that a final repetition of the theme concludes his sermon. Although, as was mentioned, his sermon structure might have been judged a little idiosyncratic in point of detail by theoreticians of sermon form, its broad division into three is firm and in some ways closer in spirit to theoretical principles than the comparatively random sequence of *distinctiones* accumulated in his source text.¹⁰¹ In sum, the Gloucester redactor simplifies Felton's text and restructures it in accordance with his

its use in the Good Friday sermons of Oxford, Bodleian Library Lat. th. d. 1, fol. 113r, and Barlow 24, fol. 164r. Both of these sermon collections are from the fifteenth century.)

⁹⁸ Gloucester, Cathedral Library 22, p. 33. Compare V, fol. 294va.

⁹⁹ Gloucester, Cathedral Library 22, p. 24.

¹⁰⁰ Though God and the Virgin are invoked, it does not seem that the preacher asks the congregation to pray before announcing the "division"; see also n. 44 above.

¹⁰¹ See n. 48 above.

own, and in some ways more traditional, principles of sermon organization. His redaction shows how Felton too, though perhaps for different reasons, might be the object of excerpting and editing in a way similar to that in which Felton treated his own sources. One imagines that Felton may have regarded such vernacular versions of his *Sermones* as that in Gloucester, Cathedral Library 22 as the sort of response that he had tacitly invited.

Effectiveness in the pulpit, necessarily an ephemeral art that vanishes as the memory of the preacher eventually vanishes from the minds of the members of his congregation, was a dimension of Felton's ability now irrecoverable, but one which his contemporaries, in calling him a "magnus predicator et deuotus," nevertheless require us to take on trust. Felton can now only be perceived on parchment as a skillful compiler and a man whose espousal of the evangelical preoccupations of his Church, while earning him admiration in his day, would in the long term rob him of any enduring distinction. Already by the late fifteenth century and beyond Oxford, the man himself has been submerged, though his work, eminently orthodox and consequently inconspicuous, remains serviceable to some members of the Church in their pastoral efforts, and continues to be retailed anonymously.¹⁰² Felton's work, it seems, passed facelessly into the common Catholic tradition; there it would continue undisturbed, like the popular devotion at his tomb in St. Mary Magdalen's, Oxford, carried on eventually by people who would never have known him, until at last put down by the Reformation.¹⁰³

EDITORIAL METHOD

The Latin texts of Appendixes 1, 2, and 3 are edited from *V*, and the English text of Appendix 3 from Gloucester, Cathedral Library 22. In Appendix 4 are edited the English verses of the *Sermones dominicales* from *V*, in their immediate Latin context (except the verses of the Holy Innocents sermon, since these already appear in Appendix 1). All abbreviations are

¹⁰² The only clue that the Gloucester redactor gives about his source is when he says "Remembyr, man, as I rede of iij Iues in *sermones Magdalene* . . ." (Gloucester, Cathedral Library 22, pp. 28-29).

¹⁰³ Though perhaps even the Reformation may not have been altogether a decisive terminus. Felton's abstract of the *Pera peregrini* in Oxford, St. John's College 109, for example, was possibly being read well into the sixteenth century. Visible under ultraviolet light on fol. 245r is the inscription: "Liber Richardi Latewarr quem dedit ei Thomas Hollandus sacre Theologie professor. . . ." Latewarr (1560-1601) was a fellow of St. John's and a famous preacher (see S. Lee, ed., *Dictionary of National Biography*, vol. 11 [London, 1909], 603-4). Holland (†1612) was a regius professor of divinity in Oxford (see S. Lee, ed., *Dictionary of National Biography*, vol. 9 [London, 1908], 1052-53).

expanded without notice, and punctuation added according to modern usage. Forms of the name of Christ beginning in *Xp-* are transliterated as *Chr-*. Abbreviated Latin words whose spelling in classical Latin differs from common medieval variants (e.g., classical Latin *mihi*, medieval Latin *michi*) are expanded to the classical spelling, unless the scribe ever writes the medieval variant when writing the word in full. Numbers are expanded as words where appropriate (e.g., “pro 2^o” is expanded as “pro secundo”). The letters *u* and *v* are standardized according to modern usage. Scribal *ff* is rendered by a capital *F* where appropriate. In the English text of Appendix 4, a stroke through final **H** is deemed otiose, as is the frequent flourish on the last minim of final nasal consonants; also, the final abbreviation **ſ** is expanded as *es*, the scribe’s normal spelling when writing in full. Text originally omitted and marked for insertion is given between raised lines: ‘...’. Scribal copying errors marked for deletion are indicated by square half-brackets: ‘[...’.

APPENDIX I

In Festo Innocencium Martirum Sermo super Epistolam

“Sequuntur agnum,” Apocalypsis 14. Diceret forte aliquis quod agnus, scilicet, Christus, secutus est eos quia post eos fuit mortuus. Sed tamen ante eorum mortem incepit suam passionem quia in die circumcisionis fudit
 5 suum sanguinem, et fere per annum postea ipsi passi sunt mortem. Secuti sunt eum in vita, quia Christus fuit [fol. 278vb] virgo innocens et sine peccato, sic et ipsi fuerunt virgines innocentes et sine peccato, quia non habebant peccatum nisi originale, sed illud fuit deletum per circumcisionem. Item secuti sunt eum in morte, quia ipse non fuit mortuus pro causa propria, sed propter
 10 primum Adam, sic et ipsi non fuerunt mortui pro causa propria, sed propter secundum Adam. Item secuti sunt eum post mortem, quia a limbo ad mundum, a mundo ad celum et illi in gaudio eternaliter secuntur eum. Et ideo dicitur, “Secuntur agnum.”

In quibus verbis duo possunt notari. Primo, “on acte þat nedis gude
 15 avysement” cum dicitur “secuntur.” Secundo, “a best þat is mild and innocent” cum dicitur “agnum.” Ideo combinando ista duo dico,

“Woso wil sew without any reuyng,

Paym nedis to acorde with þe Lambe in payre leuyng.”

Sciendum est quod quatuor sunt duces quorum quilibet invitat nos ad
 20 se sequendum, 'et dicit illud Matthei 4, “Venite post me.”’ Primus est Asmodeus, de quo Thobie 3, qui est demon instigans ad carnalia peccata, scilicet, gulam, accidiam et luxuriam. Secundus est Mammona, qui est demon movens ad mundialia peccata, scilicet, cupiditatem et avariciam. Tercius est Lucifer, qui incitat ad demoniaca peccata, scilicet, superbiam,
 25 iram et invidiam. Et quartus est Christus, qui excitat ad caritatem, qui suis sequencibus dat gratiam et gloriam, et quilibet istorum dicit illud Matthei 4, “Venite post me.”

Qui sunt in excercitu primo dicunt invitorium, “Venite, fruamur bonis,” Sapientie 2. Hoc est invitorium deliciosorum. Nota differenciam inter *frui*

2 Apoc 14:4 20 Mt 4:19 21 Tob 3:8 22 The scribe originally wrote “mammona,” then deleted the final -a. The form with final -a is the regular one in Felton.
 28-29 Sap 2:6 29-35 Felton quotes from 1 *Sent.* 1.2 (see *Petri Lombardi Sententiae in IV libris distinctae*, ed. Collegium S. Bonaventurae, 3d ed., Spicilegium Bonaventurianum 4, 2 vols. in 3 [Grottaferrata, 1971-81], 1:56).

30 et *uti* secundum Magistrum Sentenciarum, libro primo, distinctione prima, nam fruendum est hiis que per se bona sunt, ut spiritualia et eterna bona, sed utendum est hiis que per se non sunt bona, ut sunt corporalia et temporalia bona. "*Frui* est amore inherere alicui rei propter seipsam. *Uti* est id quod in usum venerit referre ad optinendum illud quo fruendum est; 35 alias, abuti est, non uti." Nota hic maledictam Trinitatem. Gula est quasi mater prava, accidia est quasi filia. Et ex hiis duabus procedit spiritus malignus, scilicet, luxuria, et quia ex gula sequatur luxuria, patet ex situacione membrorum, ut dicit Gregorius. Hic nota de Holoferne, Iudith 13, multum vinum bibente et pulcrum mulierem, scilicet, Iudith concupiscente, 40 que abscidit caput eius. Per quod potest intelligi quod ex gula sequitur luxuria, et quod "qui viderit mulierem ad concupiscendum" et cetera, Matthei 5. Et sic Christus qui est caput ab homine abscinditur, et tunc homo in anima vel mente moritur sola concupiscencia luxurie, quanto magis si impleta fuerit in operatione. Iste igitur dux, scilicet, Asmodeus, non est 45 sequendus.

Qui sunt in exercitu secundo dicunt invitatorium, "Venite, cogitemus," et cetera, Ieremie 18. Hoc est proprie invitatorium maliciosorum, qui cogitant nocere innocentibus, et potest dici de cupidis et avaris proximos decipere intentibus. Item dicunt, "Venite, percutiamus eum lingua," id est, "Capiamus 50 eum in loquela inordinata." Item dicunt, "Venite, occidamus eum," Genesis 37. Quod faciunt aut corporaliter persequendo aut spiritualiter diffamando. In isto exercitu fuit Iudas Scarioth, qui dicebatur mercator pessimus. Sed ut videtur iam sunt plures peiores mercatores, quia vendunt eandem rem non peioratam, sed cicius melioratam, eo quod tunc fuit Christus mortalis 55 et iam est immortalis, leviori peccato quam Iudas vendidit. Quia quidam dicunt falsum ad lucrandum denarium, et sic dant veritatem, que est Christus, pro uno denario, sed Iudas vendidit eum pro triginta denariis. Item dicunt falsum, sed Iudas dixit verum quia dixit, "Quemcumque osculatus fuero," et cetera. Item crucifigunt Christum, secundum illud Hebreorum 6, "rursum 60 crucifigentes in semetipsis filium Dei." Iste igitur dux, scilicet, Mammona, non est sequendus.

Qui sunt in tercio exercitu dicunt invitatorium, "Venite, edificemus [fol. 279ra] civitatem et turrim," Genesis 11. Nota hic de Herode, qui interpretatur "pellibus glorians," vel "pelliceus gloriosus," qui despexit Christum 65 et interfecit Iohannem Baptistam, et fratris sui accepit uxorem. Diabolus dicitur peccatoris frater, tum quia habent eundem patrem quantum ad

creacionem, tum quia quilibet in peccato mortali existens fert diabolium. Dicitur enim "frater" quasi "ferens alterum," et tum tercio propter hereditatis, scilicet, inferni divisionem, quia mos est in quibusdam patris inter fratres
 70 dividere hereditatem. Peccator vero potest dici uxor diaboli, quia illud accepit in celo et tunc Deus eum cum illo inseparabiliter coniunxit. Quod ergo Deus coniunxit, homo non separet, sed habeat et cum uxore sua doleat. Pro hiis tribus ducibus dicitur Prima Iohannis 2, "Omne quod est in mundo concupiscencia carnis est" (ecce pro primo), "aut concupiscencia oculorum"
 75 (ecce pro secundo) "aut superbia vite" (ecce pro tercio).

Qui sunt in exercitu quarto dicunt invitorium, "Venite, exultemus Domino," in Psalmo. Christus ivit viam penitencie, quia penitenciam docuit, Matthei 4, sed quod docuit prius fecit, ut patet Actus primo. Per istam ergo viam sequaris Christum. Item Christus in spiritu transivit ad infernum
 80 et tercia die resurrexit. Sic et tu si fueris mortuus per peccatum, transi spiritu ad infernum cogitando illius penas et tormentum. Unde Psalmus, "Descendant ad infernum viventes." Glosa: "ne descendant illuc morientes." Et si sic feceris, tercia die resurges. Exodi 3, desideravit populus Israel transire viam trium dierum ab Egipto, et cetera. Primus dies 'est' contritio, secundus
 85 confessio et tercius est satisfactio. Item Christus transivit ad celum, sic et tu cum Apostolo qui dixit, "Nostra autem conversacio in celis est" et "Non habemus hic manentem civitatem, sed futuram inquirimus." Pro hiis quatuor ducibus dicit Bernardus, "Dicit caro, 'Ego inficio,' mundus 'dicit', 'Ego deficio,' diabolus 'dicit', 'Ego interficio,' Christus, 'Ego reficio.'" Quem
 90 sequeris si sapiens fueris? Sequeris istum ducem quartum, scilicet, Christum, quia solum sequentes eum secuntur agnum.

Sciendum est secundum Holcot, Super *Sapienciam*, quod per invitorium scitur cuius dignitatis est ibidem festum, quia quanto plures cantant invitorium, tanto excellencius est festum. Sed in choris trium precedencium
 95 sunt tot cantantes invitorium quod faciunt tantum strepitum propter quod vix potest audiri in choro Christi simplex invitorium.

Item sciendum est quod quidam secuntur leonem sicut superbi. Leo dicitur rex bestiarum. Sic superbus vellet esse rex non tantum bestiarum, sed eciam hominum et angelorum, ymmo eciam vellet esse supra ipsum Deum. Quod

73-75 1 Jo 2:16 76-77 Ps 94:1 77-78 Mt 4:17 78 Act 1:1-2 81-82 Ps 54:16. I have not been able to locate the gloss "ne descendant illuc morientes" (it is not in the *Glossa ordinaria*). 83-84 Ex 3:18 86 Phil 3:20 86-87 Hebr 13:14
 88-89 Although Pseudo-Bernard discusses the three foes of man (see, for example, the *Meditationes piissime*, PL 184:503-4), I have found nothing in Bernard or Pseudo-Bernard exactly comparable. 92-94 *V* reads "super Sapiens." Felton is paraphrasing Robert Holcot's commentary on Sap 2:6. Compare Holcot: "quanto festum celebratur solempnius, tanto plures invitorio deputantur" (Oxford, Bodleian Library Bodley 279, fol. 22ra).

- 100 sic patet quia Deus vellet suam voluntatem impleri et superbus vellet suam voluntatem impleri. 'Sed Deus solum vult suam voluntatem impleri in licitis bonis et virtutibus, sed superbus vult suum velle impleri' in licitis et illicitis, in bonis et malis, et cetera, et sic vellet suam voluntatem impleri in utraque parte contradicionis. Sed Deus vult suum velle impleri solum in una parte
- 105 contradicionis. Cum ergo diabolus solum desideravit esse equalis Deo, ut patet Ysaie 14, et superbus vellet esse supra Deum, iusto Dei iudicio superbus erit subiectus diabolo, Iob 41 in fine, "Ipse est rex super omnes filios superbie." Superbus, enim, quanto gloriosior vult apparere in corpore, tanto vilior erit in mente, quod patet natura, arte et figura. In natura, unde dicit
- 110 Ysidorus, *Ethymologiarum*, libro <12>, quod *sitalis* est serpens ad visum pulcherrimus, sed veneno quasi plenissimus, sic et cetera. Item luna, quanto magis a sole distat, tanto terre clarius lucet et econtra. Sic de superbo et Deo. In arte nota de feretro serico cooperto, in quo est corpus mortuum. Item de rege semper tristi, de quo habetur in *vita* sanctorum Iosaphat et
- 115 Barlaam. Qui obvians duobus pauperibus vilibus vestibus indutis et eos salutans, oravit ut sui memores in oracionibus suis fieri vellent. Propter quod proceres sui indignati sunt et ideo frater suus aliis excellencior post regem in regno indicavit regi murmur procerum, de hoc quod semper esset tristis, et quod tam pauperes salu- [fol. 279rb] tavit et sic honoravit. Et
- 120 rex in nocte sequenti fecit tibicinem canere tuba ante fores fratris sui, et fuit regni illius mos quod ubicumque ad fores alicuius caneret tuba, in crastino debuit mori nisi esset ex regis gracia speciali. Tunc surrexit ille frater regis et venit ad regem fere nudus, flens et postulans misericordiam. Et ait ei rex, "Frater, quare tristis es?" Et frater, "Quia scio legem regni
- 125 de sonitu tube." Et rex, "Ex quo tu tristis es qui numquam mihi displicuisti, quo modo gauderem ego, qui infinicies displicui Deo? Et quando tuba sua can^ri^re't ad fores meas nescio." Item ordinavit rex quatuor cistas, scilicet, duas deformes et alias duas pulcherrimas. Deformes implevit speciebus redolentibus et rebus regni preciosissimis, et alias cistas implevit rebus
- 130 turpibus, vilibus et fedis. Et ait proceribus se velle emere duas cistas, et dixerunt proceres quod emeret pulcras. Et tunc fecit eas aperiri et fetor magnus exivit. Et ait rex, "Proiciantur!" et fecit alias cistas aperiri, et odor

106 Is 14:13-14

107-8 Iob 41:25

110-11 For "libro <12>" *V* has "libro."

The discussion of the beautiful but deadly *sitalis* derives ultimately from book 12 of Isidore's *Etymologiae*, "De animalibus" (ed. W. M. Lindsay, *Isidori Hispalensis Episcopi Etymologiarum sive Originum libri XX* 12.4.19 [Oxford, 1911], vol. 2, no pag.; PL 82:444). 114-36 This exemplum is ultimately based upon *The Trumpet of Death* and *The Four Caskets* apologues in the *Vita* of Iosaphat and Barlaam (compare Oxford, Bodleian Library Canon. Misc. 358, fols. 12r-13r). Several variants, and the popularity of the *Vita* with later authors, suggests Felton was using an intermediary source.

suavissimus exivit. Et ait, "Vos similes estis pulcris cistis, qui deforis in corpore apparetis splendentes, sed intus in anima estis fetentes. Et illi homines
 135 quibus obviavi quos vilipendistis, similes sunt duabus primis cistis. Sic est de superbis et humilibus." Item in figura, nota de divite epulone et Herode.

Item dicit Vincencius in *Speculo hystoricali* quod leo timet gallum et eius cantum, et specialiter album. Per gallum potest intelligi predicator. Hoc figuratum est Matthei 26, ubi Petrus post trinam negacionem ad galli cantum
 140 recordatus est verbi Dei, et sic conversus fuit et penitenciam egit. Ad cantum galli talis, id est, ad predicacionem bene viventis, non vult libenter accedere superbus, ne forte fuerit ibidem reprobatus.

Quidam secuntur canem sicut iracundi et invidi. Canis cito irascitur si capiat per aurem. Sic multi irascuntur si quis dicat eis veritatem. Item
 145 canis degener latrat super virum et mordet eum per talos quamvis transeat iter regium. Sic canini viri et ingenerosi, et cetera. Item canis rabidus transit ore aperto, effundens venenum, cuius venenum est valde periculosum. Sic detractor habens os venenatum, cuius venenum periculosissimum est, quia interficit aliquando tres viros ad unum morsum, primo seipsum, secundo
 150 ipsum de quo loquitur, quia aufert sibi nomen bonum, et tercio ipsum cui loquitur, si ei consenserit et libenter audierit. Item canis mordens agnos 'vel' oves debet suspendi. Sic mordens Christum per blasphema iuramenta, scilicet, iurando per eius vulnera vel membra, debet interfici secundum legem civilem, ut patet Auctentica, "ut non luxurientur contra naturam," Collatio 6.
 155 Et secundum legem canonicam, si laicus sit, debet excommunicari, si clericus, debet deponi, ut patet 22 Questio 1, "Si quis," et secundum scripturam sacram debet a celo excludi, Apocalypsis ultimo. Foris canes, quod interpretatur de caninis hominibus qui moraliter sunt quasi canes. Non enim canes brutales illuc properabunt. Item quidam sunt similes hiene, que
 160 secundum Philosophum, 7 *De animalibus*, est bestia nocturna multum desiderans carnes humanas, et aliquando extumulat homines sepultos ut

137-38 The lion's fear of the cock and its crowing derives ultimately from Vincent of Beauvais's *Speculum naturale* (compare *Speculi maioris Vincentii Burgundi . . . tomi quatuor* [Venice, 1591], vol. 1, fol. 241vb). 139 Mt 26:74-75 154 Ultimately derived from civil law, the clause "ut non luxurietur contra naturam neque iuretur per capillos aut aliquid huiusmodi neque blasphemetur in Deum" (see W. Kroll and R. Schöl, eds., *Corpus Iuris Civilis*, 2d ed. [Berlin, 1899], 3:381-83; the clause is Coll. VI tit. 5). 155-56 Ultimately derived from canon law, Gratian, C.22 q.1 c.10, "Si quis per capillum Dei uel caput iurauerit . . ." (see E. Friedberg and E. L. Richter, eds., *Corpus Iuris Canonici*, 2d ed., 2 vols. [Leipzig, 1879; rpt. Graz, 1955], 1:863). 157 Apoc 22:15 159-62 The substance of this discussion of the habits of the hyena possibly derives ultimately from Vincent's *Speculum naturale* (compare vol. 1, fol. 241rb: "Glosa super Hieremiam. Hienae nocturna bestia mortuorum deuorat cadauera, de sepulchris etiam effodit corpora, cunctisque sordibus vescitur, cuius immundicie populus Israel comparatur"), yet if so, it was evidently reworded at some stage.

talibus carnibus possit saturari. Sic detractor non tantum ambulans in turpitudinis nocte, sed eciam culpe, sepe manducat carnes humanas aliquando detrahendo sepultis ad litteram et aliquando peccata, per penitenciam
 165 sepulta, ad multorum dampnum et opprobrium. Similis Symoni, qui dixit de Magdalena, "Peccatrix es," Luce 7. De quo dicit doctor Baldewinus quod Symon tunc mentitus est, quia tunc peccata sua sibi fuerant dimissa. Ymmo detractor est crudelior quam canis vel hyena, quia ipsi vix vel numquam comedunt de specie propria, sed [fol. 279va] detractor libencius manducat
 170 spiritualiter de carne humana quam de aliena, cui minus malum esset quod comederet linguam propriam temporaliter, quia hac de causa manducabit linguam suam in inferno eternaliter, ut patet Apocalypsis 16.

Quidam secuntur lupum sicut cupidi et avari non curantes quomodo bona acquirant, sive per fas sive per nephas. Tales sunt similes symie, de qua
 175 dicit Vincencius in *Speculo hystoriali*, quod quando habet duos catulos, unum valde diligit et alterum non vel parum diligit, et quando venatur a canibus, catulum dilectum accipit inter brachia et festinat currere, et alius non dilectus in eius collo adheret. Et tandem necessitate compulsa, dilectum pullum a se proicit et alius a collo non recedit et sic capitur, interficitur
 180 vel cathenatur. Ita cupidus habet duos catulos, scilicet, bona temporalia que summe diligit et iram Dei propter illorum malam adquisicionem et abusionem. 'Adquirat' primum pullum, scilicet, temporalia, cum venatur a demonibus, vel a morte dimittit, sed secundum, id est, iram Dei, semper secum portabit, et a demonibus capietur, et in inferno cathenabitur, Apocalypsis 14, "opera
 185 enim illorum secuntur illos," id est, merita vel demerita propter illorum opera.

Quidam secuntur porcum sicut gulosi et accidiosus. Porcus vel sus aliquando tantum comedit et bibit quod inde moritur. Sic gulosus communiter spiritualiter moritur, et aliquando propter gulam moritur corporaliter. Ideo
 190 dicit Galienus quod plures interficit excessus quam gladius. Porcus potest dici accidiosus, quia nichil boni facit. Sic ociosus potest dici homo, si non facit opera bona. Ymmo melius sibi esset quod dormiret quam quod se circa taxillos, pilam et frivola et inutilia occuparet. Item sus cicius ponit caput in stercus vel in lutum quam in roseum sertum. Sic detractor cicius
 195 loquitur malum quam bonum. Item sus intrans in pomerium et commedens

166 Lc 7:39 (the Vulgate reads "est," not "es"). 166-67 The "doctor Baldewinus" is presumably Johannes de Forda. A search of his *Sermones* has not revealed this commentary (E. Mikkers and H. Costello, eds., CCCM 17-18 [Turnhout, 1970]), nor have I noticed it in his other works published in PL 204:401-774. 172 Apoc 16:10 175-80 The account of the hunted ape's treatment of her young derives ultimately from Vincent's *Speculum naturale* (compare ed., fol. 245vb). 184-85 Apoc 14:13

bona, non respicit sursum sed poma querit in terra ac si ibi essent orta. Ita cupidus non cogitat quod "omne datum optimum," et cetera, Iacobi 1. Item "Circulus aureus in narribus suis, mulier pulcra et fatua," Proverbiorum 11. Anglice, "A gold ryng in a sowis wrotte¹, a fayre womman
 200 and a sotte." Item sus libencius iacet in fovea vel sterquilinio quam in lecto serico. Sic multi libencius quiescunt in peccato quam in opere virtuoso.

Item quidam secuntur hircum sicut luxuriosi. Hircus est animal valde fetidum et aeris infectivum. Sic et luxuriosus, unde in *Vitas Patrum* narratur de angelo obviante iuveni pulcro sed tamen luxurioso, ad cuius aspectum
 205 nares obstruxit et extraxit se a vento, sed iuxta fetidum cadaver hominis mortui stetit et nares non obstruxit. Et heremite hoc admiranti dixit, "Iste iuvenis iam ab amasia sua venit et fetor luxurie eius usque ad summum celum ascendit, sed vir iste fuit peregrinus, in vita sua virtuosus, et iam est eius anima assumpta in gloria." Unde Ieronimus super illud Ezechielis 14,
 210 "Homo, homo de domo Israel," dicit, "Bis dicitur 'homo' ad denotandum quod quilibet homo debet esse geminus homo, scilicet, homo interior et homo exterior. Qui vero per concupiscenciam bestialem deformavit hominem interiorem, iam non est homo homo, sed homo bestia." Et quid fetidius quam homo leo per tyrannicam subditorum oppresionem et superbiam, aut
 215 homo canis per iracundie ardorem et invidiam, aut homo lupo per rabidam rapacitatem et iniusticiam, aut homo porcus per gule voracitatem, aut homo hircus per luxurie fetorem? Procul dubio in conspectu vere videncium incomparabiliter deformior est homo extra et bestia intra, quam si esset eque homo intra et bestia extra. Et tanto magis vitaret quisque fieri in forma
 220 bestiali intra, licet maneret homo extra quanto anima est melior corpore. Hanc feditatem [fol. 279vb] aspiciens, philosophus dixit, "Si scirem homines ignoraturos et deos ignoscituros, non peccarem." Adhuc declinemus igitur mores talium animalium et hominum, et virtuose sequamur Dominum, quatinus verificetur de omnibus notatur, hii secuntur agnum. Quod nobis
 225 concedat Christus. Amen.

197 Jac 1:17 198-99 Prov 11:22 199-200 This anglicized version of Prov 11:22 was already a well established proverb (see B. J. and H. W. Whiting, *Proverbs, Sentences and Proverbial Phrases from English Writings Mainly before 1500* [Cambridge, Mass., 1968], p. 658, W 486). 203-9 The story of the angel who stopped his nose on meeting a beautiful but immoral young man derives from the *Vitae Patrum* (see PL 73:1014). The story circulated widely and was popular with preachers (note some of the instances recorded in F. C. Tubach, *Index Exemplorum: A Handbook of Medieval Religious Tales* [Helsinki, 1969], p. 202, #2559). 209-10 Ez 14:4 209-13 Although Jerome's commentary on Ez 14:4 contains some of the substance of this "quotation" (ed. F. Glorie, CCL 75 [Turnhout, 1964], 150-52) it is not comparably worded. 219 For "eque" *V* has "e9a." This would expand as *econtra*, making imperfect sense. "Eque," as emended, makes better sense, and could easily have been miscopied by the *V* scribe. 221-22 This quotation of the "philosophus" has not been identified.

APPENDIX 2

Dominica Quinta post Festum Sancte Trinitatis

“Relictis omnibus secuti sunt eum,” Luce 5. In hoc evangelio fit mencio de piscacione, qua propter ego ad presens venio ad capiendum pisces pro cena Domini. Sed dicit Ianuensis quod quatuor de causis pisces impediuntur
5 ne capiantur.

Primo, quando sunt astuti et videntes rethe fugiunt vel abscondunt se. Sic viri diabolici nolentes peccata sua relinquere. In quibus est diabolus fugiunt a sermone. Unde Abacuc 3, “Egrediatur diabolus ante pedes eius.” Predicadores autem dicuntur pedes Domini.

10 Secundo, quando sunt magni tunc frangunt rethe. Sic extorcionatores et questionatores censuras ecclesie et prohibiciones vilipendunt.

Tercio, lubrici pisces, ut anguille, cito labuntur de manibus tenencium. Sic lubrici viri, ut gulosi et luxuriosi.

Quarto, parvos pisces non possunt rethe tenere, per quos intelliguntur
15 tepidi et infirmi in fide nolentes agere quidquam arduum vel penitenciam. Similes asino, qui debilis est ubi habet crucem et fortis alibi.

Hic nota de generoso dicente se non posse peccata dimittere et penitenciam agere. Qui postea propter tradicionem dampnatus ad carcerem perpetuum, et ibidem existens pluries dixit, “Menciebar! Menciebar! Menciebar!” Et
20 interrogatus a custode carceris quare illa dixit, respondit, “Quia dum in prosperitate et deliciis fui, dixi me sine peccatis non posse vivere nec penitenciam agere, et iam peccata dereliquerunt me et adhuc vivo in summis penis,” et cetera. Rogemus ergo in principio ut nullum istorum impedimen-
torum impediatur nos a captura piscium, et cetera.

25 “Relictis omnibus secuti sunt eum,” et cetera. Queri potest qui secuti sunt Christum, et dicendum est quod Petrus, Iacobus et Iohannes specialiter

1 For “Quinta” V has “5^m.” 2 Lc 5:11 8 Hebr 3:5 16 The idea that the ass is weak in some parts of its body but strong in other limbs (here in Felton the ass is weak where its back is marked with a cross) was one of common currency, of use to compilers of bestiaries and preachers alike. Compare, for example, Alexander Neckham’s use of the motif (T. Wright, ed., *Alexandri Neckam De naturis rerum libri duo, with the Poem of the Same Author, De laudibus divinae sapientiae*, Rolls Series [London, 1863], 266: “Asinus item in anteriori parte debilis esse fertur, sed clunibus ejus natura robur contulit”), and its use in a Lenten sermon compiled by the fifteenth-century Franciscan Nicholas Philip (on fol. 98r of Oxford, Bodleian Library Lat. th. d. 1; on this collection, see A. J. Fletcher, “The Sermon Booklets of Friar Nicholas Philip,” *Medium Aevum* 55 [1986]: 188-202). 17-23 I have not traced the source of this exemplum.

nominantur in hoc evangelio. Petrus interpretatur "agnoscens," per quem intelliguntur agnoscentes legem Domini et volentes libenter eam audire et implere. Iohannis 8, "Qui est ex Deo verba Dei audit." Iacobus interpretatur
 30 "supplantator," scilicet, viciorum, per quem caritas intelligitur, quia "caritas operit multitudinem peccatorum," 1 Petri 4. Iohannes interpretatur "gracia Dei," per quem signantur illi qui quidquid boni habent, hoc assignant gracie Dei. 1 Corinthiorum 4, "Quidquid habes quod non accepisti." Tales enim "Relictis omnibus secuti sunt eum."

35 In quibus verbis duo sunt notanda. Primum est que sunt illa que debemus relinquere si volumus Christum sequi. Secundum est quomodo debemus eum sequi. Primum notatur cum dicitur "secuti sunt eum" "Relictis omnibus," secundum cum dicitur "Secuti sunt eum."

Primum est videre que sunt illa que debemus relinquere si volumus
 40 Christum bene sequi. Et sciendum est quod quinque debemus relinquere. Primo debemus relinquere omne peccatum. Ecclesiastici 17, "Convertere ad Dominum et relinque peccata tua, et precare <ante> faciem Dei et minue offencicula." Debemus peccata relinquere propter quatuor, scilicet, propter tria mala que peccatum facit et propter quartum quod est bonum quod
 45 sequitur ex peccati desercione.

Primum est quod propter peccatum homo Deum creatorem suum offendit et derelinquit. Unde Deuteronomii 32 dicitur anime peccatrici, "Deum qui te genuit dereliquisti et oblitus es Domini creatoris tui." Item Ieremie 2, "Scito et vide quia malum et amarum est te dereliquisse Dominum Deum
 50 tuum et non esse amorem eius apud te." Item Ieremie 15, " 'Tu dereliquis-[fol. 313rb] ti me,' dicit Dominus, 'Item' 'retrorsum abisti et extendam manum meam super te et interficiam te.'" Et ideo peccata debemus relinquere.

Secundum est quia peccatum hominem enervat, et ideo enim in paradysum sequi Dominum impedit. Psalmus, "Sicut onus grave gravate sunt super
 55 me," et cetera. Hebreorum 12, "Deponentes omne pondus et omne circumstans nos peccatum, curramus ad propositum nobis certamen, aspicientes in auctorem fidei et consummatorem Ihesum," et cetera.

Tercium est quia peccatum ligat pedes anime et involvit, et ita sequi Dominum non permittit. Peccata enim sunt funes diaboli, unde Psalmus,
 60 "Funes peccatorum circumplexi sunt me" et Proverbiorum 5, "Funibus peccatorum suorum unusquisque constringetur." Septem peccata mortalia

29 Jo 8:47 30-31 1 Petr 4:8 33 1 Cor 4:7 35-154 These lines are lifted
 without notice from the *Sermones dominicales* of Nicholas of Aquevilla. Compare Oxford,
 Bodleian Library Bodley 857, fols. 54v-55v. 41-43 Eccli 17:21 47-48 Deut 32:18
 48-50 Jer 2:19 50-52 Jer 15:6 54-55 Ps 37:5 55-57 Hebr 12:1 59-60 Ps
 118:61 60-61 Prov 5:22

possunt significari per septem funes quos Philistini, id est, demones, attulerunt ad Dalidam ut ligaret Sampsonem, Iudicum 16. Preterea peccata sunt recia diaboli, de quibus dicitur Matthei 4 quod "relictis rethibus
65 continuo secuti sunt Dominum." Propter ista tria que peccatum facit debemus illud relinquere.

Quantum est quia qui reliquit peccata sua et confessus est ea, confestim ad misericordiam venit. Unde Proverbiorum 28, "Qui abscondit scelera sua non dirigitur; qui autem confessus fuerit et reliquerit ea, misericordiam
70 consequetur."

Secundo, debemus relinquere peccandi voluntatem, hoc est omnem malam cogitationem. Unde Ysaie 55, "Derelinquat impius viam suam et vir iniquus cogitationes suas et revertatur ad Dominum et miserebitur eius." Ephesiorum 4, dicit Apostolus, "Deponite vos secundum pristinam conversacionem
75 veterem hominem qui corrumpitur secundum desideria carnis." Et Ieremie 34, "Dicit Dominus, 'Si revertatur unusquisque a via sua pessima propicius ero iniquitati et peccatis eorum.'" Sapiencie 1, "Perverse cogitationes separant a Domino."

Tercio, debemus omnem peccati occasionem relinquere. Unde 1 Thesalonicensium 5, "Omnia probate: quod bonum est tenete. Ab omni specie mala abstinete vos," id est, ab omni occasione peccati. Et sciendum est quod quatuor [¶] sunt que sunt occasiones peccati debemus relinquere.

Primo, omnem malam et inhonestam locucionem. Unde 1 Regum 2, "Nolite loqui sublimia gloriantes: recedunt vetera de ore vestro." Ephesiorum 5, "Fornicacio aut omnis immundicia aut avaricia, nec nominetur in
85 vobis, sicut decet sanctos, aut turpitudine aut stultiloquium aut scurrilitas que ad rem non pertinet." 1 Corinthiorum 15, "Corrumpunt bonos mores colloquia prava."

Secundo, debemus relinquere carnis desideria, ut ciborum delicias et
90 potuum superfluitatem et vestimentorum molliciem. Ista debemus relinquere sicut fecit Iohannes Baptista. Ista non reliquit dives epulo qui sepultus est in inferno, sicut dicitur Luce 16.

Tercio, debemus relinquere mulierum nimiam familiaritatem. Mulier enim est sicut ignis et verba eius sicut flamma ignis, et caro hominis sicut fenum.
95 Ysaie 40, "Omnis caro fenum." Sed nullus potest ponere fenum prope ignem quin ardeat. Unde Proverbiorum 6, dicitur "Mulier viri preciosam animam capit." Numquid potest homo ignem abscondere in sinu suo ut vestimenta

62 For "philistini" V has "philiistini." 63 Jud 16:8 64-65 Mt 4:20 68-70 Prov 5:22 72-73 Is 55:7 73-75 Eph 4:22 75-77 Jer 36:3 77-78 Sap 1:3 79-81 1 Thess 5:21; for "1" V has "2a." 83-84 1 Sam 2:3 84-87 Eph 5:3 87-88 1 Cor 15:33 92 Lc 16:19-31 95 Is 40:6 96-97 Prov 6:26

sua non ardeant, aut ambulare super prunas ut non comburantur plante eius. Quia dicit Ieronimus, "Si pudiciciam querere vis, feminam quam queris
 100 bene conversantem, eam mente dilige non corporali frequentia, quia non es forcior Sampson, nec sapiencior Salomone, nec sanctior David. Sed tamen isti tres per mulieres decepti sunt."

Quarto, debemus relinquere omnem malam societatem. Unde Apostolus, Secunda Thessalonicensium 3, "Denunciamus vobis in nomine Domini nostri
 105 Ihesu Christi, ut subtrahatis vos ab omni fratre ambulante inordinate." Et Prima Corinthiorum 5 dicit, "Scripsi vobis in nomine Domini ne commisceamini cum fornicariis huius seculi, aut cum avaris, aut rapa- [fol. 313va] cibus, aut ydolis servientibus," quia sicut dicitur ibidem, "Modicum fermentum totam massam corrumpit."

110 Quarto, debemus relinquere omnem affectum carnalem parentum nostrorum et omnem rerum temporalium cupiditatem et terrenorum amorem. Ita fecit Ruth, ut habetur Ruth 2. Ipsa reliquit parentes suos et terram suam, et secuta est Noemi socrum suam in terram quam non noverat. Similiter beatus Petrus fecit, et alii apostoli qui secuti sunt Dominum. Petrus
 115 autem dixit, Matthei 19, "Domine, ecce nos reliquimus omnia," id est, voluntatem habendi. Dicit inter alia "et secuti sumus te," et cetera. Et ibidem dicitur, "Omnis qui reliquerit domum, aut fratres, aut sorores, aut patrem, aut matrem, aut uxorem, aut filios, aut agros propter nomen meum centuplum accipiet," scilicet, in presenti vita gratiam et in futuro gloriam
 120 eternam.

Quinto, debemus relinquere propriam voluntatem. Dicit enim Bernardus, "Sola propria voluntas ardebit in inferno." Vere, propriam voluntatem debemus relinquere. Unde Luce 9, dicit Christus, "Si quis vult post me venire, abneget semetipsum et tollat crucem suam et sequatur me." Dicit Bernardus,
 125 "Fortasse laboriosum homini non est relinquere sua, sed valde laboriosum

99 For "Ieronimus" *V* has "*non Ieronimus*." The manuscript reading here is puzzling; perhaps the "*non*" represents what was originally a marginal *nota* which subsequently became incorporated into the main text. 99-102 Jerome certainly speaks of Samson, Solomon, and David having been deceived by women (compare, for example, *Ep.* 22, ed. I Hilberg, CSEL 54 [Vienna 1910], 159) but does not use the exact form of wording attributed to him here. 104-5 2 Thess 3:6 106-8 1 Cor 5:9 108-9 1 Cor 5:6 115 Mt 19:27 116 The gospel lemma is again Mt 19:27. For "*inter alia*" *V* has "*Interl.*" This word, underlined in the same way that the scribe underlines the names of authorities or books, suggests that he (or the scribe of his exemplar) thought of it as the name of some *auctoritas*. 117-19 Mt 19:29 121-22 I have found no exact parallel to line 122 or to lines 125-27 below in Bernard or Pseudo-Bernard, but a similar sentiment, that "*propria voluntas*" enriches hell, is found in one of the sermons on Wisdom (see PL 184:1040). 123-24 Lc 9:23

est relinquere seipsum. Sed tamen non sufficit relinquere nostra nisi relinquamus et nos, id est, nostram propriam voluntatem." Istud ultimum proprie pertinet ad religiosos.

130 Secundum est videre quomodo Christum sequi debemus, et sciendum est quod per quinque vias per quas ipsemet ambulavit.

135 Prima est via humilitatis. Per istam viam ambulavit quando descendit de celis in uterum Virginis, ut nos a potestate demonum liberaret. De hoc dicitur Exodi 3, "Vidi afflictionem populi mei qui est in Egipto, et audivi clamorem eius et descendi ut liberarem eum de manu Egipciorum." Iste
140 descensus fuit ^{hi} via humilitatis qua Christus Filius Dei descendit in uterum Virginis. Certe, nullam maiorem humilitatem posset homo cogitare quam ista fuit, quod Deus homo factus est, et Creator et Dominus omnium exinanivit semetipsum, formam servi accipiendo. Ut dicit Apostolus, Philippensium 2, et super illud dicit Augustinus, "Humiliavit se Christus usque
145 ad Incarnacionem, usque ad mortalitatis nostre participacionem, usque ad diaboli temptacionem, usque ad populi irrisionem." Postea sequitur, "Ecce, habemus humilitatis exemplum, superbie medicamentum. Quid ergo intumesceas, o homo? O pellis morticiva, quid tenderis? O insanies fetida, quid inflaris? Princeps tuus humilis est, et tu superbus; caput humile, et membrum
150 superbum. Absit!" Unde Ecclesiastici 23, "Magna gloria est sequi Dominum," scilicet, per viam humilitatis, et cetera.

Secunda est via pacis et caritatis. Per istam viam ambulavit Christus quando venit ab utero virginali in mundum, quia sola caritas fecit eum incarnari et nasci et hoc ut nos Deo reconciliaret. Quia ante adventum eius
150 discordia erat inter Deum Patrem et hominem propter peccatum primorum parentum, sed ipse natus est de beata Virgine, ut nos Deo Patri pacificaret. Ista pax iniciata fuit in eius nativitate, et ideo tam cito cum natus fuit, cantaverunt angeli illud, Luce 2, "Gloria in altissimis Deo, et in terra pax hominibus bone voluntatis." Matthei 5, "Beati pacifici," et cetera.

155 Nota quod triplex est pax, 'scilicet,' pax pectoris, pax temporis et pax eternitatis.

Prima est pax hominis ad seipsum. Psalmus, "Qui diligit iniquitatem, odit animam suam," et sic seipsum. Hic potest notari de Dionisio tyranno quem

133-34 Ex 3:7 139 For "2" V has "3." 139-45 While the sentiment is typically Augustinian (compare, for example, his *Enarratio in Psalmum* 18, ed. E. Dekkers and J. Fraipont, CCL 38 [Turnhout, 1956], 112-13), I have found no exactly comparable quotation in Augustine's works. 145 Eccli 23:38 153-54 Lc 2:14 154 Mt 5:9 157-58 Ps 10:5 158-66 This story of the tyrant Dionysius and his perilous banquet circulated widely in *exempla* collections and sermons. Felton may have had access to it through any of many sources. Compare, for example, the version of it in the late thirteenth-century Dominican *exempla* collection preserved in London, British Library Royal 7.D.i, fol. 107r, or in sermon form in Worcester, Cathedral Library F.10 (the sermon, composed between 1398 and 1404,

quidam videns in magna gloria dixit ei, "In hora felici natus fuisti, qui tantam
 160 habes gloriam." Et dixit tyrannus, "Tu sencies qualis est gloria." Et fecit
 eum teneri, et in crastino in- [fol. 313vb] duit eum vestibus suis preciosissimis,
 et posuit eum ad mensam cum summis epulis, cum excellenti melodia. Sed
 fecit gladium evaginatum pendere supra caput eius cum crine de cauda
 equina. Quem ille videns, in tantum timuit quod commedere nequivit, et
 165 dixit tyrannus, "Talis est gloria mea, quia semper timeo vindictam Dei."
 Et tamen non se correxit.

Secunda est pax hominis ad proximum suum. Unde notandum 'est' quod
 quidam assimilantur aque, quidam ossi, quidam olle terree. Aqua enim
 divisa, si dividens auferatur, statim redintegratur. Sic est de bonis hominibus.
 170 Si causa litis, si qua fuerit deleatur, statim amicantur et aliquando postea
 plus se diligunt quam prius. Versus, "Post inimicicias clarior est et amor."
 Si autem os in tibia vel in brachio viri frangatur, potest ligari et sanari,
 sed tamen postea non erit tam fortis sicut prius fuit. Et potest verificari
 quod dicit Lincolniensis in *De venenis*, "Quando tu cogitas de tuo puero
 175 et ego de lapide, pulcra verba fieri possunt, sed nullus amor." Sed si olla
 terrea fuerit fracta, numquam redintegrabitur. Hic nota de duobus viris
 nolentibus amicari in vita sua et ideo post mortem continue pugnant in
 inferno, ut patet in tractatu qui vocatur *Fasciculus morum*. Vel nota si placet
 de homine mortuo iacente super feretrum, qui in tempore exequiarum resedit
 180 trina vice et prima vice dixit, "Iam iudex sedet." Secunda vice, "Iam vocor
 ad iudicium." Tercia vice, "Iam sententia data est et ego dampnatus sum."
 Et querentibus viris causam dixit, "Quia numquam volui dimittere iniuriam
 mihi factam, sed semper expectavi tempus ut possem me subtiliter vindicare,
 et ideo sepelitte me procul ab hominibus in fovea turpi et profunda. Hec
 185 enim visio pro vestra erudicione ostensa est, sed mihi nihil prodest."

Tercia est pax hominis cum Deo que erit eternaliter in celo. De ista tercia
 pace habetur Iohannis 20. Ibi enim habetur quomodo Dominus dixit
 discipulis suis "pax vobis" bis eo die quo surrexit a morte corporaliter, ad

is edited by D. M. Grisdale, *Three Middle English Sermons from the Worcester Chapter Manuscript F.10* [Kendal, 1939]; see p. 34, lines 392-404). A version of the story also appears in the *Fasciculus morum* (as, for example, in Oxford, Bodleian Library Rawlinson C.670, fols. 22v-23r), and possibly Felton was drawing upon it without acknowledgment at this point of his sermon. (See lines 176-78 for his declared use of the *Fasciculus* in this sermon.)
 162 For "melodia" *V* has "mēdia." 171 Alanus de Insulis, *Liber parabolorum* (see PL 210:582). 174-75 The quotation, however, has not been found in the *De venenis*; see also note 57 above. 176-78 Found in the *Fasciculus morum* (compare, for example, Oxford, Bodleian Library Rawlinson C.670, fol. 30r). 178-85 This story of the corpse which speaks thrice from its feretory during its requiem Mass is another commonly found from the thirteenth century onwards (compare, for example, London, British Library Egerton 1117, fol. 188rb). 187 Jo 20:26

denotandum quod nos habebimus duas primas paces quando resurgimus
 190 a morte spiritualiter. Et in octavo die dixit semel "pax vobis" ad denotandum
 tertiam pacem quam habebimus cum Deo in octava etate que eternaliter
 durabit.

Tercia est via puritatis et castitatis. Per istam viam ambulavit Christus,
 quia in ipso numquam fuit culpa originalis nec venialis nec mortalis peccati.
 195 Ysaie 53, "Ipse est qui peccatum non fecit, nec in ore eius fuit dolus."
 Proverbiorum 20, "Purus sum a peccato, mundum est cor meum." Per viam
 puritatis debemus Christum sequi tamquam bone sponse secuntur sponsum
 suum et sicut virgines secuntur agnum sine macula. Apocalypsis 14, "Hii
 sunt qui cum mulieribus non sunt coinquinati. Virgines enim sunt et secuntur
 200 agnum quocumque ierit." Per istam viam bene sequimur Christum quando
 nos custodimus ab omni inquinamento luxurie mentis et corporis. Sed multi,
 quod dolendum est, malunt sequi concupiscencias suas quam Christum,
 contra quos dicitur Ecclesiastici 5, "Non sequaris concupiscenciam cordis
 tui." Et Ecclesiastici 18, "Post concupiscencias tuas non eas, et a voluntate
 205 tua avertere. Si prestes anime tue concupiscencias eius, faciet te in gaudium
 inimicis tuis," id est, demonibus.

Quarta est via misericordie et pietatis. Unde Psalmus, "Universe vie
 Domini misericordia et veritas." Misericordia sicut dicit Glossa fuit in primo
 adventu et veritas erit in secundo adventu. Per viam misericordie ambulavit
 210 Christus quando cepit predicare, cecos illuminare, demones effugare, mortuos
 suscitare, leprosos curare et famelicos pascere. Omnia ista sunt opera
 misericordie. Per viam istam debemus sequi Christum tamquam boni
 discipuli suum magistrum. Proverbiorum 21, "Qui sequitur misericordiam
 et iusticiam inveniet misericordiam." Per istam viam secutus est eum beatus
 215 'Iob, unde dicit' Iob 23, [fol. 314ra] "Vestigia eius secutus est pes meus,"
 scilicet, per opera misericordie; "Viam eius custodivi et non declinavi ex
 ea." Item ibidem 31 dixit, "Ab infancia mea crevit mecum miseratio, et
 de utero matris mei egressa est mecum." Sed certe multi sunt hodie qui
 nolunt Christum sequi per istam viam, sed potius secuntur Giezi leprosum
 220 servum Helisei, de quo dicitur 4 Regum 5, currens Giezi secutus est Naaman
 post tergum, quem Heliseus curaverat a lepra sua, et accepit ab eo duo
 talenta argenti et duplicia^r t^r v'estimenta, sed lepra Naaman adhesit ei et
 semini suo in sempiternum. Propter hoc illi qui secuntur Giezi symoniaci
 sunt, cupidi et avari, qui fetidi sunt coram Deo plus quam leprosi. Isti in

195 Is 53:9. For "53" V has "54."

203-4 Eccli 5:2 204-6 Eccli 18:30-31

196 Prov 20:9

207-8 Ps 24:10

198-200 Apoc 14:4

the source of this gloss.

213-14 Prov 21:21

215 Job 23:11

217-18 Job 31:18

220 4 Reg 5:21-23

225 fine bene poterunt dicere illud, Sapiencie 5, "Erravimus a via veritatis et lumen iusticie non luxit nobis." Unde Proverbiorum 4, "Via impiorum tenebrosa; nesciunt ubi corruunt." Ideo per viam misericordie et veritatis debemus sequi Christum.

Quinta est via pene et tribulacionis et austeritatis. Per istam viam
 230 ambulavit Christus quando in crucem ascendit. Hebreorum 10, "Habemus itaque fiduciam in introitu sanctorum in sanguine Christi, qui annunciavit viam novam nobis." Per istam viam, scilicet, pene et tribulacionis et austeritatis, debemus Christum sequi sicut canes venatici cervum, scilicet, per vestigium sanguinis. Unde 1 Petri 2, "Christus passus est pro nobis,
 235 vobis relinquens exemplum ut sequamini vestigia eius."

Certe, quicumque predicta reliquerint et secuti Christum fuerint, per istas quinque vias ipsi sedebunt super duodecim sedes iudicantes duodecim tribus Israel cum Filio Dei. Unde Matthei 19, "Vos qui reliquistis omnia et secuti estis me, cum sederit Filius hominis in 'sede' maiestatis sue, sedebitis et
 240 vos super duodecim sedes iudicantes duodecim tribus Israel." Et istis dicit Christus illud, Matthei 25, "Venite, benedicti Patris mei, percipite regnum," et cetera. Illud regnum concedat nobis Christus. Amen.

225-26 Sap 5:6	226-27 Prov 4:19	230-32 Hebr 10:19	234-35 1 Petr 2:21.
For "1" V has "2a."	238-40 Mt 19:28	241 Mt 25:34	

APPENDIX 3

V, fol. 294ra:

Nota de tribus iudeis a monte Calvarie post mortem Christi revertentibus, et inter se querentibus que esset gravissima pena quam homo ille sustinuit. Et primus dixit, "Videbatur mihi quod fuit maxima pena quando fuit ad columpnam ligatus et tam crudeliter flagellatus et undique ex eius corpore
 5 sanguis habundanter exivit, et tunc posita fuit super eum clavis rubea ne videntes compaterentur ei, et quando sanguis erat exsiccatus in clavidem, extraxerunt clavidem et tunc stetit ligatus quasi totaliter excoriatus, et nichil mali dixit, sed pacientissime sustinuit et pro eis oravit." Et dixit alius, "Vere, dolor ille magnus fuit, sed magis movebat me quando vidi matrem suam
 10 extra istam portam per quam oportebat ipsum exire. Et quando vidit eum qui erat 'speciosus forma pre filiis hominum' magis factum deformem quam leprosum, pro maximo dolore cecidit quasi mortua. Quam ut ipse vidit tanto

11 "Speciosus . . . hominum": Ps 44:3

dolore confectam, et ipse sub cruce cecidit et pro pondere crucis quasi totus fractus fere expiravit. Et tunc quod visu horribile fuit, tortores traxerunt
 15 eum ac si fuisset summus latro et proditor regni, et surgens vix stare potuit et genua sua super gravamen acutum erant lamentabiliter fracta, et tunc propter debilitatem et teneritatem non potuit ulterius crucem portare, et tunc fecerunt Symonem Cyreneum portare crucem post eum. Iste dolor videbatur mihi fuisse maximus." Et tercius dixit, "Isti dolores fuerunt magni
 20 valde, sed ut dicit philosophus, 'Mors est ultimum terribilium.' Ideo videbatur mihi quod quando debuit poni super crucem, acceperunt mensuram latitudinis eius ab una manu ad aliam manum, et illi fecerunt foramina in brachiis crucis et cum una fuerat fixa magno clavo, nervi extraxerunt se ab alia manu et tunc illa manus erat tam brevis quod non potuit pervenire
 25 ad foramen prius factum. Et tunc traxerunt illam manum cum magnis cordis itaque fere traxerunt eam a suo corpore, et illa manu fixa cum grandi clavo, tunc pedes sursum traxerunt se in magna distancia a loco eis ordinato, et tunc traxerunt pedes eius ut prius manum, et pedibus clavo grandi fixis, exaltaverunt crucem cum corpore suo alte supra basem et permiserunt eam
 30 cadere in basem, et videbatur quod corpus suum membratim esset dilaceratum, et hec pena videbatur mihi fuisse gravissima. Et omnes istas penas sustinuit mente benignissima."

Gloucester, Cathedral Library 22, pp. 28-31:

Remembyr, man, as I rede [p. 29] of iij Iues in *sermones Magdalene*, and hyt schuld cawse þe to forsake syn, how þey come downe from þe monte of Calvary aftur þey had putt Criste to deth. They questyonde betwene them iij wyche was þe moste payne þat Ihesu sufferyd. And þe fyrst Iwe
 5 seyde, "My þowȝth þe grettest payne of all was whan he was bownde to a pyllar and so crwelly bete with sqwergis þat owȝth of every parte and plasse of his body þe blode ren owȝt abondante and þan aftur þat þey putt a mantell of purpull abowȝte hym þat þey þat wente by or se hym schuld not have petty on hym. And when þe blode was dryed up in þe
 10 mantell, þey plokyd þe mantell from hym and so renowyd every wonde agayne. And þer he stode bownne to þe pyller as a man ^{sq} squergyd or gotyn with knyvyys and no yl he seyde, but pacyenly he sufferyd and prayed for them." *Secundus Iudeus dicit*, "Forsothe, þis was a gret dolor. But hyt mevyth me more when I sawe his modur withowȝt þe yate by

13 In the right-hand margin next to the Latin "*Secundus Iudeus dicit*" is written "textus." The scribe's eye appears to have been carelessly caught by the Latin, since he has drawn attention to it in the same way he would were an *auctoritas* being quoted (as below, line 29).

15 þe wyche he moste nedis goo. When sche sayd^f e hym þat byfore ‘speciosus
 forma pre filiis hominum,’ the fayrest þat was byfore all mankynde, more
 dysformyd þan a lepyr with peyne, ffor gret sorow sche fylle downne as
 dede. And hom he saye in so gret sorow and hevynes, he hymselfe undur
 þe crosse felde [p. 30] downe, and for þe hevynes of þe crosse and sorow
 20 of his modur, well ny he was dede. Than þe horrybyll tormentowris seyng
 þus withowȝth mercy þey drew hym upon þe stonys and gravell as he had
 be a traytowre or a betraior of a kyngdome. And þan when he rose he
 myȝthe not bere þe crosse no fordur, ffor hys flesse and kneys was full
 sore and full petuesly i-brokyn with þe drawyng well nethe he myȝth not
 25 stonde. Than þey mayde Symon of Cyryne bere þe crosse to þe monte
 of Calvery aftur hym. Þis dolor my þowȝth was grettest sorow of all and
 mekely he sufferyd and prayed for them.” *Tercius Iwdeus dixit*, “Þes sorowes
 and peynys was gret, but hyt mevyt me more as þe phylesofowre seyth,
 ‘Mors est ultimum terribilium,’ dethe ys þe hynmost or þe last of dreful
 30 þynges. For þer ys no þyng so drefull as deth. For when þey schuld put
 hym upon þe crosse, they toke leynthe and brede of hym, ffrom oon honde
 to anodur, and þer þey made holes for his hondes and fette. And when
 þei hade naylyd oon honde faste with a gret nayle, the toper harme was
 to schorte to reche to þe toper hole. Than þey bonde a roppe abowȝth
 35 his harme and drow hit to þe hole, þat for gret malyes þey wolde not make
 anoþer hole þat well nye þei had drawyd asondyr his harme from his body.
 Then whan þat his honde was [p. 31] naylyd with a myȝty nayle, than
 his fyte wold not come to þe hole þat was made, but lykewyse þey bowne
 a rope abowȝth his fette and drew them also. And when þey had naylyd
 40 þey lefte þe crosse with his blyssyd body as hye as þey myȝth, and þan
 dassyd hit downe ynto þe hole that ‘was’ made in þe grownnd, and þan
 meþowȝth þat his senwes, veynys and ioyntes where brokyn all onsondur.
 And þes peynes he soferyd with a meke mynde and prayed for us all.”

15-16 “Speciosus . . . hominum”: Ps 44:3

16 For “filiis” the manuscript has “filius.”

18 The form “hom” in this line is a fifteenth-century spelling of the relative pronoun WHOM and translates “quam” in the Latin text.

29 Next to the Latin quotation in the left-hand margin is written “textus.”

APPENDIX 4

Sunday within Epiphany Octave (V, fol. 280va):

“Ecce Agnus Dei,” ubi supra. Anglice, “Behald and se, þe Lamb of God is he.” Hec verba possunt verificari tripliciter: primo, of Crist to Ion Baptist

comyng; secundo, of Crist in þe sacrament of þe alter beyng; and tercio, of every man in 'þis' 'þs' worlloð virtuously levynge.

Second Sunday after Epiphany Octave (V, fol. 282rb):

Item exemplo. Pro quo nota in *Gestis Romanorum*, de Frederico imperatore habente pulcrā filiam, cui dimisit imperium. Quam comes excellens decepit. . . . Misit miles camisiā suā vulneribus cruentatā taliter superscriptā, "Cogita de eo et in mente habe qui pro te fuit tam gratus." Anglice,
 5 "Thynk on hym and have mynd þat for þe was so kynd."

Fifth Sunday after Epiphany Octave (V, fol. 284vb):

In istis quatuor foliis veri amoris possunt scribi quatuor clausule caritatis. In primo folio sic: "Homo ex me tua dignitas." Anglice, "Man, of me ys þi dignite." Magna dignitas hominis, quod fuit factus ad ymaginem Dei in naturalibus, et ad similitudinem Dei in gratuitis. In secundo folio: "Accede
 5 ne timeas." Anglice, "Man, cum to me and dred noth þe." . . . In tercio folio: "Amavi te; discite me tu amare." Anglice, "Man, Y have loved þe; lere þou to love me." . . . In quarto folio, "Quid, quantum et quare?" Anglice, "Wat, how mykil and wy?"

Fourth Sunday of Lent (V, fol. 293va):

Sed notandum quod diabolus multum nititur ad impediendum confessionem, et hoc specialiter quatuor seris, quibus serat corda peccatorum, scilicet, pudore, timore, longa vita, recidivacione. Anglice, "Schame and drede, long lyfe and nede." Sed contra istas seras quilibet christianus haberet quatuor
 5 claves que sunt liber, mensa, arcus, baculus. Anglice, "þe buke, þe burde, þe bow, þe stafe."

Easter Sunday (V, fol. 296va):

Dicat quilibet, queso, mente pia, *Pater noster* et *Ave Maria*. "Qui manducat," et cetera, ubi supra. Anglice, "Wo sum etis of þis brede, he sal leve and never be dede." . . . Licet ibi appareat panis materialis, tamen ibi non est, sed est ibi caro et sanguis Christi. Anglice, "Þof þare seme materiale brede,
 5 ȝete þer is none bod þer is Cristis flesse and his blode." . . . Secunda conclusio

5 The word "blode" was initially written as "blude" by the scribe, and subsequently he attempted to alter his *u* to an *o*.

sit hec. Licet ibi appareat, et cetera, sed est ibi corpus Christi quod positum
fuit super crucem. Anglice, "Ʒof þer seme," et cetera, "bod þer is Cristis
bodi þat done was on þe rude." . . . Tercia conclusio. Licet ibi appareat,
et cetera, sed est ibi spirituale nutrimentum. Anglice, "Ʒof þer seme," et
10 cetera, "bod þer is gostly fude."

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THREE UNPUBLISHED PRAYERS FROM AM MS 655 4° XXIII*

Scott J. Gwara

Although we can be sure that prayer was a routine part of worship for the populace of medieval Iceland, few facts support this intuitive claim. The Reformation in Scandinavia led to the destruction of ecclesiastical manuscripts, particularly in Latin. As a result, extant Icelandic devotional writings do not document a widespread practice of prayer, much less convey a complete picture of available texts. In some cases, a single text might evoke a lost Icelandic devotional tradition that corresponds to devotional practices more widely known from continental sources. For this reason alone, any prayers found in Icelandic sources deserve attention. Therefore, two liturgical prayers and one private prayer from Copenhagen, Arnamagnæan Institute (AM) 655 4° XXIII are edited here for the first time with a view towards establishing their place among surviving prayers from medieval Iceland. The historical setting of the private prayer will yield an opportunity to speculate on Icelandic taste in private devotion. From the outset, however, we should admit that the manuscript evidence still cannot reveal whether Iceland was affected by the same literary fashions in devotional writing as the Latin West.

I. THE MANUSCRIPT

AM MS 655 4° XXIII (hereafter *M*) is a *membrum disiectum* measuring 19.5 x 14 cm and dated by Hreinn Benediktsson to the second quarter

* I am grateful to the British Government, the University of Cambridge, and Corpus Christi College, Cambridge for funding which allowed me to examine a number of manuscripts, including AM MS 655 4° XXIII, in Copenhagen for two months in 1985. In addition, I wish to acknowledge my indebtedness to the Arnamagnæan Institute for permission to work with the archives, to the Dictionary of Old English for allowing me to use their collection of microfilms, to Fr. Leonard Boyle for supplying me with a copy of Vatican, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana Reg. lat. 121, fols. 254r-255r, to Prof. A. G. Rigg for transcribing Oxford, Bodleian Laud Misc. 79, fols. 148v-149r and for carefully reading and commenting on a draft of this work, and to Thomas Bestul, Ian McDougall, Jonna Louis-Jensen, and Lilli Gjøløw for their characteristically generous comments which saved me from a number of errors.

of the thirteenth century on the evidence of the vernacular hand on the recto.¹ According to Árni Magnússon's memoranda, now bound with the fragment, the leaf was discovered in Önundarfjörður in the see of Skálholt.² Both of Árni's notes record that the fragment came from a book called "Villa" (heresy), presumably because it was once thought to contain unorthodox subject matter: "ur bok sem heited se Villa . . . oc því so köllud ad hun hafe vered villu-hætt ad lesa" (see n. 2 above). The manuscript might formerly have belonged to Oddur Einarsson (1559-1630), bishop of Skálholt, noted book collector, and great-grandfather of Sigurður Jónsson, from

¹ Hreinn Benediktsson, *Early Icelandic Script*, Icelandic Manuscripts Series in Folio 2 (Reykjavík, 1965), xxv (pl. 38). See also K. Kålund, *Katalog over den Arnamagnæanske Håndskriftsamling*, 2 vols. (Copenhagen, 1888-94), 2:64.

² *i recto*: [top margin: "XXIII"] "feinged af Meistare Magnuse Arasyne, enn hann hefur feinged þat af Jone Steindorssyne i Hiardardal (brodur hans á Hvít) & seiger hann þat vera ur bok sem heited se Villa,^{oc} [*i verso*: oc því so köllud ad hun hafe vered villu-hætt ad lesa] er vered hafi i Önundarfirde, & þar i sundur rifest" [bottom margin, in the hand of Konráð Gíslason: "Hører til 655 Fram. XXIII"; (?) in a later hand: "K(onráð) Gísl(ason)"]. *ii verso*: "þetta hefi eg 1704. feinged fra Sr. Sigurdi Jonssyni i Holtti, med ödrum fleirum þvíilukum blöðum, ur alexandri Magni Sögu, ur Eigils sögu Skallagrimssonar ur Jonsbok:^{oc} [oc ur bænaqveri luther su ur Evangelio Matthæi] Skrifar hann mier ad á medal þessarra blada sieu nockur ur bok þeirre sem köllud var villa. og verda þau þá þetta ad vera" [bottom margin: "verte"].

Trans.: *i recto*: "Acquired from Magnús Arason, Esq., and he received it from Jón Steindórsson in Hjarðardal (his brother in Hvít), and he says that it is from a book which is called 'Villa,'^{and} [*i verso*: and it was so called because there was a risk of heresy in reading it] which had been in Önundarfjörður, and was torn apart there." *ii recto*: "I acquired this in 1704 from Séra Sigurður Jónsson of Holt, together with several other leaves of this sort, from *Alexanders saga*, from *Eigils saga Skallagrimssonar*, and from *Jónsbók*:^{and} [and from Luther's prayer book from the Gospel of Matthew (prob. the *Kleiner Katechismus*)]. He writes me that among these leaves are some from that book which was called 'Villa' (and they must be this)."

Árni Magnússon's notes are contradictory, but in my view the second note is more likely to refer to fragment XXIII. Konráð Gíslason also queried the first: "belongs to 655 fram. XXIII?" At least one more text in the group of fragments from Sigurður Jónsson can be identified—as AM ms 655 4^o XXIX (cf. "ur alexandri Magni Sögu"); others might be among the remaining leaves in the manuscript. According to Kålund (*Katalog* 2:66), who presumably quotes another of Árni's notes, the *Alexanders saga* fragment is also "úr Villu" (from "Villa"). I have not seen the note from fragment XXIX, but this seems to be an unlikely guess on Árni's part. A miscellany comprising *Alexanders saga* and a psalm-commentary would be unusual, and, furthermore, there is no reason why a vernacular translation of Walter of Châtillon's *Alexandreis* would be "heretical." Unfortunately, I have been unable to trace any more leaves from "Villa"; perhaps no more exist. Sigurður Jónsson's statement that some leaves (*nockur*) come from "Villa" suggests that there was more than one, but Árni's parenthetical comment "verda þau þá þetta ad vera" (and *they* must be *this*) implies that he identified only one leaf from the manuscript.

[I am grateful to Ian McDougall for the transcription and translation of Árni's notes, and for identifying the persons mentioned therein.]

whom Árni acquired the leaf.³ Oddur is known to have destroyed “heretical” books, and the leaf might have served as binding material.⁴

The verso, on which the Latin prayers are copied, is barely readable, even with an ultraviolet lamp. Two large folds, which suggest that the leaf was a pastedown or binding fragment, run vertically down the verso and obliterate up to four letters per line. In addition, the upper right-hand corner (recto) has deteriorated, with loss of text, mainly on the recto. Severe rubbing on the verso, the heavily abbreviated *Succurrite* prayer, and inferences drawn from the liturgical texts imply that this fragment was the last leaf in a book.

The recto of *M* contains a 20-line acephalous portion of a psalm-commentary on verses 20-21 of Psalm 50 (*Miserere*). Letter-forms are well executed and consistent, but multiple errors, including dittography and omission of letters, suggest that the scribe was careless. The Icelandic text has been printed or discussed on many occasions.⁵ James Marchand alleges that the fragment “is actually the first indication that [an extensive commentary of the Psalms was] available in Old Norse translation.”⁶ Although he cites Gerhoh of Reichersberg’s *Commentarium in Psalmos* as a close parallel “in the Latin tradition,”⁷ Ian Kirby’s potential analogues—Alcuin’s *Expositio in Psalmos Poenitentiales* and Bruno Astensis’s *Expositio in Psalmos*—are more credible.⁸ Nevertheless, a direct source for the Icelandic text, if it is indebted to one, remains unknown.

The verso of *M* contains three Latin prayers written almost continuously in 28 lines: a *Misereatur*, a *Confiteor*, and a prayer to all saints.⁹ About

³ See Páll Eggert Ólason, *Íslenzkar Æviskrár frá Landnámstímum til Ársloka 1940* (Reykjavík, 1948), 4:234-35 (Sigurður Jónsson); 4:7-8 (Oddur Einarsson); Jón Helgason, *Íslands Kirke fra Reformationen til Vore Dage* (Copenhagen, 1922), 68-72.

⁴ Yet one of Árni’s notes states that the manuscript had been broken up (“sundur rifest”) in Önundarfjörðr.

⁵ Konráð Gíslason, *Um frum-parta íslenzkrar túngu í fornöld* (Copenhagen, 1846), LXXXII-LXXXIII; Hreinn Benediktsson, *Script*, xxv; idem, “The Old Icelandic Enclitic 2nd Pers. Pronoun -þo,” *Arkiv för Nordisk Filologi* 78 (1963): 190-96, at 193-94; James Marchand, “An Old Norse Fragment of a Psalm Commentary,” *Maal og Minne* (1976): 25-29; Hans Bekker-Nielsen, “Fra ordbogens værksted: I. Lidt om bodssalmer” in *Opuscula* 1, *Bibliotheca Arnsmagnæana* 20 (Copenhagen, 1960), 341-42; Ian J. Kirby, *Biblical Quotation in Old Icelandic-Norwegian Religious Literature*, 2 vols. (Reykjavík, 1976-80), 2:93-94, 99; idem, *Bible Translation in Old Norse* (Geneva, 1986), 43.

⁶ Marchand, “Fragment,” 28.

⁷ Ibid., 27. Honorius of Autun, a well-known author in medieval Iceland, may also have been the source of the passage (ibid., 29 n. 11).

⁸ Kirby, *Quotation* 2:94.

⁹ As far as I am aware, Hans Bekker-Nielsen first called attention to the Latin prayers in 1960 (“Lidt om bodssalmer”), but because of the poor state of the text, he was able to recognize only the *Confiteor*: “Bagsiden af bladet er benyttet til andet formaal, her finder vi bl. a. en del af et ‘confiteor’ og nogle ikke identificerede latinske noter” (341) [the verso

fifty percent of the text is unreadable, and many letters are undetectable under ultraviolet light. The format of the page is artless, as many lines are irregular. A large margin on the left side of the page was provided for capital *M(isereatur)* and *C(onfiteor)*, but these letters were not supplied. Instead, a vernacular and Latin gloss, partly obscure, has been added in the lower half of the existing space. The gloss reads:

eg[] *dd*
oc þæ[]*r*
mater *qs*
ma[r]ia¹⁰

Cancelled by pen-strokes in a lighter ink, this *marginale* likely alludes to the invocation of the Virgin in the *Succurrite* prayer: "O beata maria virgo" (11-12). The *Confiteor* also contains a reference to the Virgin Mary ("Confiteor . . . sancte marie," 4) which may have misled a glossator into thinking that the prayers are addressed to the Virgin.

The date of the Latin hands (inexpert Caroline minuscule) is roughly contemporaneous with that of the vernacular hand, probably the second half of the thirteenth century. The sex of the suppliant in the *Confiteor* prayer (male, see below, p. 187) and in the *Succurrite* prayer (female) might imply that two scribes copied the texts. Scribe 1 wrote the first two prayers, which form one liturgical unit, whereas scribe 2 (a woman?) added the *Succurrite*, probably within a generation. These proposed scribal contributions are substantiated by inconsistent letter-forms. Caroline *a* of hand 1 frequently shows a straight back ("omnia peccata tua," 2)¹¹ in contrast to that of hand 2, which curves inward to the left ("ad," 11; "amorem," 17). The back of *d* is often straighter in hand 1 ("dimittat," 1; "corde," 8), more curved and longer in hand 2 ("deuorat," 13; "aduersar<i>orum," 16). *G* exhibits a compressed lower bow in hand 1 ("ego," 7; "cogitacione," 8) and a more open bow in hand 2 ("confugio," 12; "ang<e>lorum," 16). Generally, scribe 2 leaves more prominent serifs on *m* and *n* ("indulgenciam," 18; "mandatorium," 23) than scribe 1 ("omnipotens," 1; "meo," 7). As another criterion of two independent transcriptions, scribe 1 uses curved *s* in final

of the leaf is used for another purpose; here we find, among other things, part of the *Confiteor* and some unidentified Latin notes].

¹⁰ *dd* and *qs* (*queso?* *quesumus?*) appear to be Latin abbreviations, but they may represent vernacular words (see F. C. Robinson, "Latin for Old English in Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts" in *Language, Form and Linguistic Variation: Papers Dedicated to Angus McIntosh*, ed. J. Anderson [Amsterdam, 1982], 395-400).

¹¹ In the following section line numbers refer to the manuscript lineation (see plate).

position on four occasions ("omnipotens deus," 1; "eius," 7; "nimis," 7-8), whereas scribe 2 uses only tall *s* finally (e.g., "mors," 12; "cordis," 17); and only scribe 2 uses insular *f* ("infernus," 13). Certain inconsistencies within each scribal contribution (hand 1: *a*, *b*, *s*; hand 2: *a*, *b*, *d*, *f*, *p*) could mean that the scribes were unpractised.

Whereas the *Misereatur* and *Confiteor* prayers exhibit few abbreviations (mainly nasal suspensions and Tyronian *notae*), the *Succurrite* prayer is heavily abbreviated. Apparently, scribe 2 had to fit the entire prayer onto this half-page and consequently resorted to dozens of abbreviations. Even so, lack of space hardly explains the many textual inaccuracies. The text of the *Misereatur* shows one error ("tuus," 3),¹² and the *Confiteor* likewise exhibits one slip: "patre" for "patri" (4). The *Succurrite* text, by comparison, is extensively corrupt. It has at least twelve unqualified errors, some of dittography ("dei," 11; "ducite," 19), spelling ("castitatem," 13; "anglorum," 14; "aduersareorum," 15), and grammar ("deuorat," 11; "letificet," 29). Many of these mistakes have been corrected (e.g., "humitatem," 13; "postate," 15; "matyres," 20), probably in a later hand, but other omissions and dubious spellings still stand. Such corruptions cast doubt on the scribe's competence in Latin, his or her skill as a copyist, or the condition of the exemplar. The disparity in textual accuracy between the *Succurrite* prayer and the *Misereatur* and *Confiteor* prayers is another indication that two scribes copied the texts.

Although we can deduce the circumstances under which the *Misereatur* and *Confiteor* prayers might have been copied (below, p. 187), it is less certain why the *Succurrite* was added here. Perhaps the final words of the psalm-commentary (on the verse "tunc imponent super altare tuum vitulos" [Ps 50:21]) provided the motivation. The interpretative material describes saints ("helger menn") as intercessors commending prayers ("bøner oc oll") to Christ:

... fyr þuiat sva sem forner verþa förþar yver altare, sva ero allar bøner oc oll aheit til Gvps Christe a hende folgin af heilagre cristne, helger menn þeir er sialfa sic föra saclausa til bana i forn Gvpe, sva sem kalfar unnger oc meinlavser voro förþer í enom fornóm lavgom.¹³

The mention of Christian martyrs as intercessors might have prompted a reader familiar enough with a standard repertory of private devotion to write a prayer to all saints on the verso of the leaf.

¹² Hereafter line numbers refer to the lineation of the edition.

¹³ Marchand, "Fragment," 26. "... just as sacrifices are made upon the altar, so are all prayers and supplications to God commended to Christ by the Holy Church, holy men who offered themselves without reason to be slain as a sacrifice to God, just like young calves, who also were slain innocent in the Old Law" (ibid.).

II. THE EDITION

The following edition is based on a first-hand examination of the manuscript and on an ultraviolet photograph from the Arnamagnæan Institute in Copenhagen. Expansions have been italicized and punctuation provided. Capital letters are reproduced from the manuscript. Because the *Misereatur* and *Confiteor* prayers are common liturgical texts, no variants from other manuscripts have been given. In the case of the *Succurrite*, however, variants have been taken from all the manuscripts in which I have found the prayer, with the exception of *V*. Manuscript *V* has been extensively altered in the course of transmission and is therefore printed separately in an appendix. *Sigla* are as follows:¹⁴

- M* Copenhagen, Arnamagnæan Institute 655 4^o XXIII, fol. 1v, s. xiii², Iceland.
- A* London, British Library Arundel 155, fols. 190v-191r, s. xi¹, Christ Church, Canterbury.
- T* London, British Library Cotton Titus D.xxvi, fols. 68r-69v, s.xi¹ (1012-35), New Minster, Winchester.
- H* London, British Library Harley 2882, fol. 59r-v, s. xii, England.
- L* Oxford, Bodleian Library Laud Misc. 79, fols. 148v-149r, s. xii, Reading.
- V* Vatican, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana Reg. lat. 121, fols. 254r-255r, s. xiv², England.

It is possible that more copies of this prayer exist than I have been able to trace,¹⁵ but these collated versions betoken the kinds of changes affecting

¹⁴ In this list of manuscripts I have relied on the following texts for dates and origins: [AT] N. R. Ker, *Catalogue of Manuscripts Containing Anglo-Saxon* (Oxford, 1957); Helmut Gneuss, "A Preliminary List of Manuscripts Written or Owned in England up to 1100," *Anglo-Saxon England* 9 (1981): 1-60; and T. A. M. Bishop, *English Caroline Minuscule* (Oxford, 1971), no. 26 (incl. pl.); [H] British Museum Dept. of Manuscripts, *A Catalogue of the Harleian Manuscripts in the British Museum*, 4 vols. (London, 1808-12, rpt. Hildesheim, 1973), 2:717; [V] A. Wilmart, *Codices Reginenses Latini*, 2 vols. (Vatican, 1937-45), 1:283; [L] H. Coxe, *Catalogi codicum manuscriptorum bibliothecae Bodlianae*, vol. 2 (Oxford, 1858), 1; [A] Jackson J. Campbell, "Prayers from MS. Arundel 155," *Anglia* 81 (1963): 82-117, at 111-13. All of these texts are unprinted except for *A*, which has been corrected against the manuscript.

¹⁵ The following works have been consulted for analogues: A. Wilmart, *Precum libelli quattuor aevi Karolini*, (Rome, 1940); idem, "Le manuel de prières de saint Jean Gualbert," *Revue Bénédictine* 48 (1936): 259-99; idem, "Un livret de prières provenant de la Chartreuse de Trisulti," *Ephemerides liturgicae* 49 (1935): 28-45; idem, "The Prayers of the Bury Psalter," *Downside Review* 48 (1930): 198-216; Joseph LeMarié, "Le 'Libellus precum' du psautier de Saint-Michel de Marturi," *Studi medievali*, 3d ser., 22 (1981): 871-906; idem, "Le Pontifical d'Hugues de Salins, son 'Ordo Missae' et son 'Libellus precum,'" *Studi medievali*, 3d ser.,

the original. On the basis of the six recensions of the *Succurrite*, it would be speculative to reconstruct a text history, and the following remarks are offered only as observations.

AT (both from the first half of the eleventh century) are the earliest witnesses of the *Succurrite*, but *T*, which has no unique variants, theoretically records the purest version. *T* shares a number of readings with *LM* against *AH*. *A* disagrees with *T* in twenty readings, and *H* in eleven; *L* disagrees with *T* in only seven. By contrast, *M* has eight readings which disagree with *T*, but five of these are common to *ATHL*. Two of these readings (superscripts d, k) as well as the variant in superscript p record lexical substitutions which attest to a text further removed from *T* than, say, *L*. Interestingly, in the first four lines of *M* (superscripts b, c, d, h, k) several important deviations from *T* occur in which *ATHL* virtually always agree against *M*. Very likely, the text has been deliberately altered here by omission and substitution (see below, p. 194).

Four variants in *M* constitute "errors" of omission (b, c, n, v), whereas only one expands the text ("adiuua me et fac me habere" *M*, 15; "adiuua me habere" *T*). Moreover, none of the other manuscripts preserves the ending of *M* (after "temperanciam," 25-26), a brief pastiche of formulaic petitions. This conclusion is shorter than the original, which arguably resembled that preserved in *T* or *H*. The manuscripts do not all have discrepant conclusions for the *Succurrite*. *THL* are virtually identical, although *AT* both close with the doxology "prestante domino qui trinus et unus regnat in secula seculorum" (cf. *L*). *ATH* display obvious correspondences suggesting that the original ending of the prayer approximated that in *T*, and the conclusions to *V* and *L* support this hypothesis. Because the close of *M* is significantly shorter than the proposed original and because

19 (1978): 363-425; D. H. Turner, "The Prayer-Book of Archbishop Arnulph II of Milan," *Revue Bénédictine* 70 (1960): 360-92; idem, "A Twelfth Century Psalter from Camaldoli," *Revue Bénédictine* 72 (1962): 109-30; Pierre Salmon, "Livrets de prières de l'époque carolingienne," *Revue Bénédictine* 86 (1976): 218-34; idem, *Analecta liturgica*, Studi e testi 273 (Vatican, 1974); Henri Barré, *Prières anciennes de l'Occident à la Mère du Sauveur* (Paris, 1963); Jean Leclercq, "Anciennes prières monastiques," *Studia monastica* 1 (1959): 379-92; A. B. Kuypers, *The Prayer Book of Aedehuald the Bishop Commonly Called the Book of Cerne* (Cambridge, 1902); Anselm Hughes, *The Portiforium of St. Wulstan*, Henry Bradshaw Society Publications 89-90 (London, 1958-60); Guillaume de St.-Thierry, *Oraisons méditatives*, ed. J. Hourlier, Sources chrétiennes 324 (Paris, 1985); Thomas H. Bestul, *A Durham Book of Devotions*, Toronto Medieval Latin Texts 18 (Toronto, 1987); Walter de Gray Birch, *An Ancient Manuscript of the Eighth or Ninth Century* [The Book of Nunnaminster] (London, 1889); E. S. Dewick, *The Leofric Collectar*, vol. 1, Henry Bradshaw Society Publications 45 (London, 1914), 433-54; *Fleury Prayer Book*, PL 101:1383-1460; M. Frost, "A Prayer Book from St. Emmeran, Ratisbon," *Journal of Theological Studies* 30 (1928-29): 32-45; Bernard James Muir, *A Pre-Conquest English Prayer-Book*, Henry Bradshaw Society Publications 103 (London, 1988).

the *Succurrite* was heavily abbreviated to fit into the available space, it is possible that the scribe was also the redactor. Consequently, the omissions in *M* do not prove the existence of a separate textual *tradition*.

Since Latin prayer texts were manipulated time and again, it is impossible to draw any firm conclusions about the alteration or transmission of the *Succurrite* on the basis of these collated versions. Notwithstanding certain unusual lexical substitutions, however, *M* is more closely related to *TL* (and therefore to the original) than to *AH* (and *V*), at least to the point of superscript n. Yet in light of its conclusion, *M* stands out as one of the most idiosyncratic texts of the *Succurrite*, a fact that may be linked to its circulation in the largely isolated Christian communities of Scandinavia.

Editorial symbols:

- [] editorial deletion
- <> editorial additions or corrections
- '' scribal additions
- † textual corruptions

Copenhagen, Arnamagnæan Institute 655 4^o XXIII, fol. 1v

<Mi>sereatur tui omnipotens deus *et* dimittat tibi omnia peccata tua, liberet te ab omni malo, conseruet te semper in omni bono *et* perducatur nos pariter *iesus christus filius* [tuus] de<i> uivi in <u>itam et<e>rnam.

<C>onfiteo<r d>eo celi, sancte marie *et* omnibus sanctis eius *et* tibi patr<i>
 5 meo quia ego peccator pec<c>auit nimis in uita mea, in corde, in cogitatione, in locutione, in pollutione, in fornicatione, delec<t>aci<o>n<e>, consensu *et* opere. me culpa<ui>. ide<o> prec<or> te <o>ra <pro me>.

<ORATIO AD OMNES SANCTOS>^a

Suc<c>urrite mihi^b omnes sancti;^c ad uestra^d ego misera^e *et* peccatrix^e patro-

1 A space measuring 2.5 x 6.5 cm was left in the margin to accommodate capital M and C, but these were not provided 4 patri] patre MS 6 pollutione] pullucione MS, with o added above u delectacione] delec tacione MS 7 Text illegible after ora, but the conclusion of the prayer (likely abbreviated here) is formulaic

^a ORATIO AD OMNES SANCTOS *add. from AH, ORATIO T, om. L* ^b mihi queso *ATH, michi queso L* ^c sancti dei *ATHL* ^d ad quorum *ATHL* ^{e-e} miserimus *et peccator A, miser et peccator alt. to misera et peccatrix T, miser et peccator HL*

- 10 ci<nia>^f confugio. succurrite mihi an'te'quam me mors^g rapiat, antequam
me ira [d<e>i] dei dis<per>dat, antequam me infernus deuor<e>t.^h O beata
maria uirgo^j christi mater d<e>i,^j exaudi me, salua me, custodi me, optine
mihi fidem meam,^k caritatem perfecta<m>, humi'li'tatem,^l casti[ti]tatem,
sobrietatem.^l Et tu^m sancte <mi>chael cum omnibus milibus ang<e>lorum,ⁿ
15 eripe me de po'te'state aduersar<i>orum,^o adiuua m<e>^p et fac me habere^p
dei amorem, cordis decorem,^q fidei uigorem. Vos quoque^r patria<rc>he et
prophete sancti,^s poscite mihi^t indulgentiam, pacienciam,^u cons<t>anciam,
sanctamque per<se>ueranciam. O beat<i>^v soluit<e> me,^w defendite me,
confor<t>ate me et ad [duc<i>te] regnum^x uite perdu<cite> m<e>.^x per u<o>s
20 sancti <ma>r't<y>res^y d<e>tur mihi^z karitas <sancta>, pax^a sincera, mens
pura,^a uita <as>t<a>.^b O gloriosi con<f>esso<r>es dei,^c pro^d me orat<e>.^d
p<e>r^e uos mihi tribuatur^f celestis concupiscencia, morum reuer<e>ncia,^g
mandat<orum> dei obseruancia. Vos rogo omnes sanctas^h uirgines:^j [et]
adiuuat<e> me^k bonam haber<e>^k uoluntatem cordis et co<r>poris sanitatem,
25 piam f<rater>nita<t>em,^l prudenciam, i<u>sticiam,^m fortitudinem,^m tempe-
ra<n>ciam.ⁿ <omnes> sancti de'pre'cor uos ut per uestras <o>racion<es>

10 antequam] anquam MS, with te added above the line 11 deuoret] deuorat
MS 13 perfectam, humilitatem] perfecta, humitatem MS, with li added above the line
14 michael] chael MS, letter(s) partly visible in extreme right margin angelorum] anglorum
MS 15 potestate] postate MS, with te added above the line aduersariorum]
aduersareorum MS 16 decorem] de corem MS 20 martyres] matyres MS, with r
added above the line 25 fraternitatem, frater undoubtedly abbreviated, but abbreviation
is illegible fortitudinem] fortitudonem MS, with i added above o 26 deprecor, with
abbreviation for pre added above the line

^f patrocini]um H ^g mors me H ^h deuoret ATHL ^{j-j} uirgo dei mater christi
H ^k fidem rectam ATH, fidem rectam spem certam L ^{l-l} castitatem humilitatem
sobrietatem pudiciam mentem quietam L ^m et tu om. H ⁿ angelorum ora pro
me et AH, angelorum ora pro me TL ^o aduersariorum meorum H ^{p-p} me obtinere
A, me habere TL, m<e> ut possim habere H ^q decorem et A, cordis decorem om. H
^r quoque sancti A ^s sancti om. A ^t mihi a deo A ^u pacienciam om. L
^v beati apostoli dei A, beati apostoli THL ^w me a peccatis A ^{x-x} regnum celeste
me perducite A ^y martyres dei A ^z mihi a domino A ^{a-a} mens pura pax sincera L
^b casta et peccatorum remissio A ^c christi L ^{d-d} orate pro me AH ^e ut per A
^f tribuatur a deo A, tribuatur mihi H ^g reuerentia et A ^h sancte AL ^j uirgines
dei A ^{k-k} me ut bonam habeam A, me u<t> bonam habere possim H ^l humanitatem A
^{m-m} fortitudinem iusticiam L ⁿ⁻ⁿ temperantiam et omnium peccatorum meorum a deo
indulgentiam. Omnes sancti dei uos deprecor et rogo: subuenite mihi, miseremini mei, corrigite
me misericorditer et orate pro me instanter ut per uos mihi detur a deo conscientia sancta,
compunctio salutaris, uita honorabilis, consummatio laudabilis. Adiuuate me omnes sancti
et electi dei ut per uos peruenire ualeam ad uos, Prestante domino qui trinus et unus regnat
in secula seculorum A, temperantiam, iterum atque iterum immo in eternum uos o omnes
sancti deprecor: subuenite mihi, miseremini mei, erigite me, corrigite me, per uos mihi detur
conscientia sancta, compunctio salutaris, uita honorabilis, consummatio laudabilis et me

miserea<tur> mei omnipotens dominus, Qui cum deo in unitate spiritus sancti
 uiuit <ei> r<egnat>. Omnes sancti t<ui> quesumus domine <n>os eorum †qs
 letifice<n>t ut dum eorum merita r<e>co<limus> patro<c>inia senciamus per
 30 <secula seculorum>.ⁿ

28-30 These lines are difficult, and perhaps a word like beneficiis is missing at MS qs
 (con. Gjerløw) letificent] letificet MS recolimus] re co<D> MS (recolimus con. Gjerløw)

adiuuat ut per uos perueniam ad uos, prestante domino qui trinus et unus regnat in saecula
 seculorum. amen T, temperanciam. Iterum atque iterum immo in eternum uos omnes sancti
 dei deprecor: subuenite mihi, miseremini mei, erigite me, corrigite me. Per uos mihi detur
 consciencia sancta, compunctio salutaris, uita honorabilis, consummatio laudabilis; et me
 adiuuate ut per uos ueniam ad uos. AMEN H, temperanciam. Iterum atque iterum immo
 in eternum uos rogo omnes sancti dei: subuenite michi, miseremini mei, erigite me, 'corrigite
 me' [in margin]. per uos michi detur consciencia sancta, compunctio salutaris, uita honorabilis,
 consummatio laudabilis; et me adiuuate ut per uos per ueniam ad uos, prestante domino
 nostro ihesu christo qui cum deo patre et spiritu sancto uiuit et regnat deus per omnia
 secula seculorum. AMEN L

III. THE LITURGICAL PRAYERS

Misereatur and *Confiteor* prayers have a long history whose origin can be traced to the silent papal prayer incorporated in Roman stationary services.¹⁶ By the seventh century in Frankish centres, words taken from the *apologia* of the Gallican liturgy were substituted for this silent prayer.¹⁷ The *Confiteor* represents a remnant of these Franco-Germanic *apologiae*, which expressed the celebrant's unworthiness before God. At their inception, *Confiteor* prayers were recited before the altar at Mass immediately after the procession, but sometime in the ninth century they were borrowed for use in the monastic Office (Prime and Compline) as well.¹⁸ By 1050, the Mass *Confiteor* was transformed into a dialogue on the model of the Office practice, during which two brothers would confess their faults to each other. Each monk would recite the *Confiteor* and *Misereatur* in turn, in a manner resembling sacramental confession.¹⁹

¹⁶ Joseph A. Jungmann, *The Mass of the Roman Rite: Its Origins and Development*, trans. F. Brunner, 2 vols. (New York, 1951-55), 1:298.

¹⁷ Ibid. 1:78-79.

¹⁸ Ibid. 1:299. See also Andrew Hughes, *Medieval Manuscripts for Mass and Office: A Guide to their Organization and Terminology* (Toronto, 1982), 40, 83.

¹⁹ Jungmann, *Mass* 1:299; idem, *Die lateinischen Bußriten in ihrer geschichtlichen Entwicklung* (Innsbruck, 1932), 283-84.

In the Mass the *Misereatur* (and *Indulgentiam*) accompany the *Confiteor* almost as responsories. Contrapuntal to the *Confiteor*, the *Misereatur* prayer would often have been recited by an attendant—perhaps a deacon—who would in turn repeat a *Confiteor*. The celebrant would then answer with another *Misereatur* prayer in response to the deacon's *Confiteor*. The prayers uttered by celebrant and deacon would be virtually identical, with the substitution of a phrase like "(confiteor . . .) tibi patri meo" for "vobis fratribus/vobis, fratres" in the deacon's portion of the address.²⁰ Without question, the texts in *M* represent the deacon's responses to the celebrant, not only because of the characteristic formula "tibi patri meo" but also because of the reverse order of the prayers. The deacon would say the texts in the order *Misereatur*—*Confiteor* as they appear in *M*.

The order of these prayers and their context on the final page of a book suggest that at least part of the missing text in the book "Villa" was liturgical, and possibly a homiliary.²¹ The attendant who recited the *Misereatur* and *Confiteor* responses would have carried the priest's Mass books to the altar. If he should forget his Latin responses to the priest—or if he simply had not memorized them—he could conveniently open the book to the last page and read the texts verbatim. This hypothesis, in addition to explaining the order and context of the *preces*, disarms the potential incongruity between the speakers of the *Confiteor* and *Succurrite*. If the *Misereatur* and *Confiteor* were used in a liturgical setting, they would have been delivered by a man. On another occasion a woman could have written and recited the *Succurrite*. The circumstances under which both liturgical and private prayers were written on the same leaf suggests that the book was used for liturgical and reflective purposes.

Though conventional, the *Confiteor* text in *M* has a somewhat longer delineation of sins than similar extant prayers, and no precise parallel for it exists. Beyond the "standard" formula, "in cogitatione, in locutione et in opere,"²² the prayer adds "in uita mea, in corde . . . in pollucione, in fornicacione, delectacione, consensu" (5-6). This kind of augmentation derives from historical circumstance. The influence of sacramental confession, popularized in monastic circles, transformed many *Confiteor* prayers used

²⁰ Jungmann, *Mass* 1:304 n. 39.

²¹ Because the Norwegian and Icelandic homily books (AM MSS 645 4^o, 677 4^o respectively) both contain commentaries on the Mass, the *Paternoster*, and the Creed, it is plausible that a commentary on the penitential psalms like that in AM MS 655 4^o XXIII could likewise have circulated with a homily collection (see Kirby, *Translation*, 42-43 and n. 50).

²² On the origin of this common formula, see Patrick Sims-Williams, "Thought, Word and Deed: An Irish Triad," *Ériu* 29 (1978): 78-111.

in the Mass rite into a type of public confession. As a result, they became increasingly idiosyncratic.²³ Additionally, *Confiteor* prayers and their characteristic formulas regularly turn up in private devotion, where they tend to be more elaborate than their liturgical analogues. These devotional texts, in turn, may have induced priests to amplify the *Confiteor* prayers in Mass. Unlike the *Confiteor*, the *Misereatur* was seldom subject to the same degree of alteration, and consequently the example in *M* has many parallels in surviving liturgical books.²⁴

²³ The following examples of *Confiteor* prayers show how the text could be expanded. The first two texts are liturgical; one (very simple) comes from a Cistercian rite ca. 1106-1109, the second from fourteenth-century Lyons (printed in E. Lodi, *Enchiridion euchologicum fontium liturgicorum* (Rome, 1979), nos. 1644, 1696 respectively). The third text is an example of private devotion from Cerne viii (Kuypers, *Prayer Book*, 93).

1. Confiteor deo et beatae Mariae et omnibus sanctis et vobis fratres quia peccavi nimis cogitatione, locutione et opere mea culpa. Ideo precor vos orate pro me.

2. Confiteor deo omnipotenti et beate Marie semper virgini et omnibus sanctis eius et vobis fratres quia ego peccator peccavi nimis per superbiam, cogitatione, locutione, delectatione, consensu, visu, verbo et opere in cunctis viciis meis malis. Mea culpa, mea culpa, mea gravissima culpa. Ideo precor beatissimam virginem Mariam et omnes sanctos et sanctas Dei et vos fratres, ut oretis pro me peccatore ad Dominum Deum nostrum, ut ipse misereatur mei.

3. Confiteor tibi domine omnia peccata mea id <est> fornicationem naturalem et innaturalem. tam apud masculos quam apud feminas cordisque mechationem et turpem effusionem seminis. homicidium et periurium fraudes et insidia<s> inuidiam obprobrium detractationem et bilinguitatem zelum uanam gloriam discordiam. Confiteor tibi quod fui peccatorum operator. . .

Long *Confiteor* prayers in the context of Mass like the Lyons prayer above are an exception in the late Middle Ages. The Mass *Confiteor* historically constituted a type of universal confession and was deemed inappropriate for public confession, which had, anyway, lost its ecumenical status centuries earlier (see Jungmann, *Mass* 1:305-7).

²⁴ Bernold of Constance's *Micrologus* has a close parallel: "Misereatur tui omnipotens Deus, et dimittat tibi omnia peccata tua, liberet te ab omni malo, et confirmet te in omni opere bono, et perducatur nos pariter Jesus Christus Filius Dei vivi in vitam aeternam" (PL 151:992). For others, see Lodi, *Enchiridion*, nos. 1110, 1581, 1647, 1689. For further *Confiteor* prayers, see Salmon, *Analecta*, 109, 139, 152, 155, 156, 161, 177; Archdale A. King, *Liturgies of the Religious Orders* (New York, 1955).

Along with the *Pater noster* and Creed, the *Confiteor* was indispensable to laymen and clergy in medieval Europe, but documentation of its putatively wide use in Iceland is lacking. Regis Boyer (*La vie religieuse en Islande, 1116-1264* [Paris, 1979]) claims that a Lenten homily from *Homiliubók* and a passage from *Íslendinga Saga* allude to the *Confiteor* (pp. 275-76). The allusion in *Íslendinga Saga* is unlikely and, correspondingly, very tenuous in the homily passage: "oc biþe sér lícnar fyr alla hlute þa er a þeire nótt hafa yver hann ginget" (Theodor Wisén, *Homiliu-bók* [Lund, 1872], 109; cf. Jón Jóhannesson et al., *Sturlunga Saga*, 2 vols. [Reykjavík, 1946], 1:483). For further evidence of the use of the *Confiteor* in medieval Iceland, see Magnús Már Lárusson, "Orðubrot frá Gufudal," *Kirkjuritið* 24 (1958): 203-14, esp. 207, 209; B. I. Kilström, *Den kateketiska undervisningen i Sverige under medeltiden*, *Bibliotheca Theologiae Practicae* 8 (Lund, 1958).

IV. THE *Succurrite* PRAYER

Although other copies of the *Succurrite* may exist in unprinted manuscripts, all the texts consulted here, with the exception of *M*, are of English origin. The appearance of a predominantly English prayer in an Icelandic manuscript accords with the consensus that England was a primary source of Christian writings in the North. Mercantile contacts between medieval England and Iceland suggest one route of transmission for the *Succurrite*.²⁵ Alternatively, the prayer might have been disseminated from England to Iceland via a Norwegian centre. Surviving manuscripts and historical records often substantiate a flourishing contact between England and Norway from Anglo-Saxon times,²⁶ and in 1152 the two Icelandic sees Skálholt and Hólar came under the jurisdiction of Nidaros, giving rise to increased intellectual commerce between Iceland and Norway. Although the Anglo-Saxon missions to Scandinavia provide the most plausible context for the dissemination of early English prayers like the *Succurrite*,²⁷ there is no way to determine exactly how and when our text might have been transmitted.

Admittedly, discovery of demonstrably non-English copies of the *Succurrite* could refute its proposed English origin. After all, many Latin prayers from medieval Iceland have analogues in continental prayer books. For example, the prayers in AM MS 241a fol., indebted mainly to Carolingian archetypes, are found in early continental manuscripts.²⁸ In respect to the prayers in MS 241a fol. and others from the so-called *Pater Noster* Psalter (fragmentary),²⁹ medieval Scandinavia could be said to cultivate devotional traditions current on the continent as well as in England.

²⁵ For example, in "Heilagur Nikulás í Árnasafni" (in *Afmælisrit Jóns Helgasonar*, ed. Jakob Benediktsson et al. [Reykjavík, 1969], 260-69), Selma Jónsdóttir concludes that "[an English] psalter . . . may well have come to Iceland under the auspices of travellers or merchants, Icelandic or English" (269).

²⁶ E.g., Knut Helle, "Anglo-Norwegian Relations in the Reign of Hákon Hákonarson (1217-63)," *Mediaeval Scandinavia* 1 (1968): 101-14; Anthony Tuck, "Some Evidence for Anglo-Scandinavian Relations at the End of the Fourteenth Century," *Mediaeval Scandinavia* 5 (1972): 75-88.

²⁷ On the Anglo-Saxon missions to Scandinavia, see Fridjov Birkeli, "The Earliest Missionary Activities from England to Norway," *Nottingham Mediaeval Studies* 15 (1971): 27-37; A. Taranger, *Den angelsaksiske kirkes indflydelse på den norske* (Kristiania, 1890-91); C. J. A. Oppermann, *The English Missionaries in Sweden and Finland* (London, 1937), esp. 56-144; Lilli Gjerløw, "Fragments of a Lectionary in Anglo-Saxon Script Found in Oslo," *Nordisk Tidskrift för Bok- och Biblioteksväsen* 44 (1957): 109-22; eadem, *Adoratio Crucis: The Regularis Concordia and Decreta Lanfranci* (Oslo, 1961), cf. p. 105: "The manuscript fragments examined in this paper on the whole testify to the English influence on the medieval Church in Norway."

²⁸ Lilli Gjerløw, *Liturgica Islandica*, 2 vols., Bibliotheca Arnasagnæana 35-36 (Copenhagen, 1980), 1:169-91.

²⁹ Ibid., 134-56.

Texts of private devotion like the *Succurrite* prayer are ubiquitous in English and continental *libelli precum*. By contrast, few private prayers from medieval Scandinavia exist, and as a result the *Succurrite* represents an important survival. Moreover, because this prayer is for a woman (“ego misera et peccatrix,” 9), it is even more valuable as a guide to devotional practices in Iceland.

Private prayers specifically for women’s use appear infrequently in Scandinavian manuscripts. The best known example was printed in Finnur Jónsson’s *Historia ecclesiastica Islandiae*:

Sancte Petre Apostole electe Dei, tu confessus es filium Dei; super te aedificat Dominus Deus ecclesiam suam & tradidit claves Regni coelorum; Tibi ligandi dedit potestatem atque solvendi & remittendi peccata; Tu es Apostolorum princeps & exemplar poenitentiae, Doctor Ecclesie, Janitor Paradisi, adjutor electorum, Tu es susceptor animarum, & ego misera, & fragilis, et peccatrix, quid sim factura. Cum venero ad te ad[i]uva me ne recedam refusa propter vitia & peccata quae male commisi. Solve vincula peccatorum meorum qui habes potestatem ligandi & solvendi in caelo & in terra. S. Petre, S. Paule, S. Andrea, B. Johannes, Apostoli Domini, aperite mihi portas justitiae; ingressus [!] in eas confitebor Domino Amen.³⁰

This text first appears in the Angers Psalter (Angers, Bibliothèque Municipale 18, fol. 179r-v, s. ix), but it can also be found in at least half a dozen other manuscripts, many of which are English.³¹ In addition, the *Suscipe* prayer from AM MS 241b 18 fol. was adapted for a woman’s use “by an addition to the text.”³² AM MS 209 8^o, containing the same *oratio*, was written expressly for a woman,³³ and a fifteenth-century (Danish) prayer book for a woman, which contains a number of texts translated from Latin originals akin to those in AM MS 241a fol. (p. 189 above), still survives.³⁴ If vernacular texts accurately portray women’s accomplishments in Latin letters, two exceptional women in the sagas should not be overlooked here. Guðrún in *Laxdæla Saga* is said to have been the first woman in Iceland to have memorized the Psalter, perhaps with its accompanying canticles and prayers.³⁵ Furthermore, according to the longer version of the life of

³⁰ Finnur Jónsson, *Historia ecclesiastica Islandiae*, 4 vols. (Copenhagen, 1772-78; rpt. Westmead [UK], 1970), 2:380.

³¹ Gjerløw, *Liturgica*, 175.

³² *Ibid.*, 141, 136.

³³ *Ibid.*, 136.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, 170.

³⁵ Einar Ól. Sveinsson, *Laxdæla Saga*, Íslenzk Fornrit 5 (Reykjavík, 1934), 223.

Bishop Jón of Hólar, a woman in Jón's diocese named Ingunn became a competent Latin scholar and had books read to her while she embroidered.³⁶

The preceding evidence proves that women in medieval Iceland participated in devotional exercises, though the extent of their proficiency in Latin cannot be gauged from the sources. The *Succurrite* prayer, then, is by no means a unique witness to women's devotion. Unfortunately, little more can be confidently said about the recitation of the *Succurrite*. On one hand, the book in which it was copied could have been available to a learned woman who read the psalm-commentary and other texts, and later added a brief prayer at the end. These circumstances do not presuppose any relationship with a convent.³⁷ Alternatively, however, a cleric may have read the *Succurrite* aloud at the end of a lesson—or after confession—to a woman who repeated it by rote.

Strictly speaking, the *Succurrite* prayer is an *oratio* ("a simple petition"),³⁸ distinct from *preces*, collects, and the like. Yet all of these types of prayers were often gathered together, predominantly in two kinds of compilations: those ancillary to, and imitative of, the Psalms (a Carolingian innovation); and others without a particular scriptural context.³⁹ Compilations offering a mixture of private devotion appear in the ninth and tenth centuries, and many are outgrowths of Benedictine reform. Owing to its chance survival, the *Succurrite* prayer in *M* tells us nothing about the compilation from which it was extracted. But while the context has been lost, the prayer itself can be linked to other eleventh-century prayers on the basis of significant trends in the history of private devotion.

Probably composed in the tenth century, the *Succurrite* prayer in *M* is a product of English Benedictinism. With other prayers of late Anglo-Saxon origin, it has been described by Thomas Bestul as betraying an "emotionalism in style and a new subjectivity in treating the common penitential themes."⁴⁰

³⁶ *Jóns Saga biskups eptir Gunnlaug munk* in *Biskupa Sögur*, ed. Jón Sigurðsson, Guðbrandur Vigfússon et al. (Copenhagen, 1858-78), 1:241.

³⁷ There were only two convents (both Benedictine) in medieval Iceland: Kirkjubærjar-klaustr (est. 1186) and Reynistaðr (est. 1295). For the history of these foundations, see C. Lange, *De norske Klostres Historie i Middelalderen* (Kristiania, 1856); and Eiríkr Magnússon, "Benedictines in Iceland," *Downside Review* 16 (1897): 168-77, 258-67, at 265-67.

³⁸ Hughes, *Guide*, 359 n. 2.

³⁹ For a general history of private devotion and a summary of the types of *libelli precum*, see Salmon, *Analecta*, 182-94; Bestul, *Devotions*, 1-4; Pierre-Patrick Verbraken, *Oraisons sur les cent-cinquantes psaumes*, Lex orandi 42 (Paris, 1967). The most complete introduction to the subject remains that of Adolph Franz (*Die kirchlichen Benediktionen im Mittelalter* [Freiburg, 1909; rpt. Graz, 1960]). In documenting the adaptation of liturgical prayers for private use, Wilmar's *recueil* on the development of private prayer (*Auteurs spirituels et textes dévots du moyen âge latin* [Paris, 1932; rpt. 1971]) is unsurpassed.

⁴⁰ Thomas H. Bestul, "St. Anselm and the Continuity of Anglo-Saxon Devotional Traditions," *Annuaire Mediaevale* 18 (1977): 20-41, at 23.

He further claims that the style of the *Succurrite* is antecedent to that of Anselm of Canterbury's *Orationes sive meditationes*, which follows the new direction in prayer taken by such authors as Jean of Fécamp.⁴¹ Bestul cites the conclusion of *T* as the most sentimental affectation of the prayer, an element distinguishing it from a majority of pedantic compositions:

Iterum atque iterum, immo in eternum uos o omnes sancti deprecor: subuenite mihi, miseremini mei, erigite me, corrigite me. per uos mihi detur conscientia sancta, conpunctio salutaris, uita honorabilis, consumatio laudabilis, et me adiuuate ut per uos perueniam ad uos.

Nevertheless, this (likely authorial) conclusion is absent from *M*, which closes with perfunctory formulas such as "misereatur mei omnipotens deus" borrowed from the *Misereatur*. Might this omission indicate that "emotionalism" did not appeal to the Icelandic devotional temperament? No evidence confirms that *meditational* writings were read with any frequency in medieval Iceland, although a (late) manuscript of Pseudo-Bernard's *Meditationes püssime* does survive.⁴² In light of the fragmentary evidence and this possibly revealing substitution in the *Succurrite*, the diet of Latin prayers in Iceland might be judged conservative. Only further investigation, however, will prove whether Iceland did not favor personal or mystical types of devotion or whether such texts just did not circulate widely in medieval Scandinavia.

The *Succurrite* prayer owes a great debt to earlier prayers, in particular the Anglo-Irish productions which form the cornerstone of medieval devotion. In general, late Anglo-Saxon prayers borrow sedulously from the corpus of prayers represented today by (*inter alia*) the Book of Cerne and the Book of Nunnaminster, and from Carolingian *libelli precum*, which are themselves the fruits of intellectual contacts with Anglo-Saxon England. Both the transitional *Succurrite* and the conventional prayers from which it derives continued to be read for centuries, though they never attained the elevated status of, say, Anselm of Canterbury's or Jean of Fécamp's meditative writings. Not simply an exhortation, petition, or affirmation of faith, meditative writings included sophisticated rhetorical devices founded partly on the repetitive formulas of traditional prayers.⁴³ By the middle of

⁴¹ Ibid., 26.

⁴² AM MS 624 4^o (s. xv, Icelandic trans.). Quotations from the *Meditationes* are also found in Icelandic florilegia, for which see Knud-Erik Holme Pedersen and Jonna Louis-Jensen, "Speculum penitentis" in *Opuscula* 8, Bibliotheca Arnarnagana 38 (Copenhagen, 1985), 199-225, at 225 (s. xv); Kålund, *Katalog* 2:499-500 (AM MS 461 12^{mo}, s. xvi).

⁴³ On the later history of prayers and meditations in England and Europe, see Thomas H. Bestul, "Devotional Writing in England Between Anselm and Richard Rolle" in *Mysticism: Medieval and Modern*, ed. V. Lagorio (Salzburg, 1986), 12-28; Gillian Evans, "*Mens Devota*:"

the twelfth century, Cistercian authors like Bernard of Clairvaux and Aelred of Rievaulx had produced devotional monologues on such topics as the life of Christ. These departures from traditional prayers influenced their older counterparts, with the result that traditional prayers were modified or enlarged. The evolution of essentially traditional prayers may be charted by the variants of the *Succurrite* prayer in *A* and *V*.

The original *Succurrite*, the opening of which answers to that of the *Oratio sancti Isidori*,⁴⁴ likely resembles the version found in *T*. In respect to *T*, *A* has been emended in observable patterns. The preposition *a* with an accompanying ablative noun has been included on five occasions where the sense might have been considered imprecise.⁴⁵ The genitive “dei” has been added four times to the nouns “apostoli,” “martyres,” “uirgines,” and “sancti.”⁴⁶ Words have been inserted or changed in at least eight places, including the addition of “et omnium peccatorum meorum a deo indulgentiam” near the conclusion.⁴⁷ Finally, the redactor appears to have preferred *ut* clauses to hortatory subjunctives (“ut . . . tribuatur,” superscript f [22]; “ut . . . detur,” superscript n [26-30]) and infinitives (“ut bonam habeam,” superscript k [24]).

The changes to the *Succurrite* in *A* amount to inconsequential expansions which do not interfere with the original structure of the prayer. The same holds true for the *V* version, but extensive additions have been freely admitted where the syntax will permit expansion. For example, the phrase “O beata maria uirgo christi mater dei, exaudi me” in *T* (cf. *M*, 11-12) has been expanded to “O beatissima maria mater misericordie singulariter post deum facta refugium peccatorum interuentrix criminum, exaudi me” (*V*, 4-6). In other places as well, additional nouns and verbs have been included in collocations:

The Literary Community of the Devotional Works of John of Fécamp and St. Anselm,” *Medium Aevum* 43 (1974): 105-15.

⁴⁴ The prayer is adapted from a passage in Isidore’s *Synonyma* (PL 83:841C). I cite it from the Book of Cerne (Kuypers, *Prayer Book*, 148): “Succurrere mihi domine antequam moriar antequam me tormenta rapiant . Antequam me flamme conburant . antequam me tenebrae obuoluant . . .” [the remainder is not parallel].

⁴⁵ “Pocite mihi a deo,” superscript t (17); “solvite me a peccatis,” superscript w (18); “detur mihi a domino,” superscript z (20); “tribuatur a deo,” superscript f (22); “detur a deo,” superscript n (26-30).

⁴⁶ Superscripts v (18), y (20), j (23), and n (26).

⁴⁷ “me obtinere,” superscript p (15); “quoque sancti,” superscript r (16); “regnum celeste,” superscript x (19); “peccatorum remissio,” superscript b (21); “et omnium peccatorum meorum a deo indulgentiam,” “misericorditer,” “instante,” “omnes sancti et electi dei,” superscript n (26-30).

- T* . . . adiuuate me bonam habere uoluntatem, cordis et corporis sanitatem, piam fraternitatem, prudentiam, iustitiam, fortitudinem, temperantiam.
V . . . impetrate michi cordis et corporis castitatem, mentis deuocionem, dei timorem, prudenciam, iusticiam, fortitudinem, temperanciam, penitencie amaritudinem, dei misericordiam et perpetue glorie participare porcionem (29-31).

The patterns of expansion and emendation are as marked here as they are in *A*: the addition of specific saints (John the Baptist, 14; St. Peter, 17; St. Stephen protomartyr, 19-20; St. Martin, 23; St. Katharine, 27-28) before general supplications (e.g., "O Beate petre apostole et vos omnes sancti apostoli dei," 17-18), and prepositional phrases or genitival modifiers added to noun collocations.⁴⁸ Responding to late medieval fashions for longer, more sophisticated devotional exercises, relatively conservative prayers like the *Succurrite* swelled with material, often changing their sense and underscoring parochial interests in particular saints or personal faults. The *V* recension of the *Succurrite* epitomizes the complex formulaic mutations of a typical prayer from late Anglo-Saxon England.

Unlike *A* and *V*, the text of *M* exhibits no sophisticated expansions, and consequently it does not typify the development of comparable prayers at the time of its copying. Yet some changes were introduced. On one hand, *M* was abridged, possibly by the scribe, though its omissions were not made in accordance with any discernible conventions. On the other hand, *M* betrays three unique textual changes, two of which may be seen as deliberate attempts to personalize the prayer: "ad uestra," 9 ("ad quorum" *ATHL*); "fidem meam," 13 ("fidem rectam" *ATHL*). In my mind, however, these substitutions do not constitute as significant a revision as the replacement of the conclusion. As a result, the alterations to the *Succurrite* in *M* only hint at how private prayers in Iceland might have been altered (if at all) to suit personal tastes.

Nevertheless, the *Succurrite* prayer is important *sui generis*, inasmuch as the greatest value of surviving private prayers in Icelandic sources stems from the accident of their preservation. By its survival, the *Succurrite* attests to a formal type of devotion which flourished in the tenth and eleventh centuries but which retained its attraction for later generations. The inclusion of this prayer in the corpus of Latin devotional writings from medieval Iceland ultimately broadens our knowledge of the identity of Icelandic

⁴⁸ E.g., "deo meo placitam conuersacionem," 9-10; "beatam celestis glorie mansionem," 13-14; "in bono perseueranciam," 16; "celestis vite gloria," 23; "vita sancte et honneste conuersacionis, et religionis consummatio laudabilis," 35-36.

devotional practices. From one perspective at least, the *Succurrite* prayer (and others like it) link the Latin culture of medieval Europe with one of the most distant outposts of Christianity.

APPENDIX

Vatican, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana Reg. lat. 121, fols. 254r-255r

Oratio deuota ad sanctam mariam et omnes sanctos

- Succurrite michi queso sancti dei omnes ad quorum patrocinia ego miserrimus peccator [patrocinia] confugio. Succurrite michi queso *antequam* me mors rapiat, *antequam* me ira dei disperdat, *antequam* infernus me deuoret. O
- 5 Beatissima uirgo maria mater *miseri*cordie singulariter post deum facta refugium peccatorum, interuentrix criminum; exaudi me, salua me, custodi me, optine michi fidem rectam, spem <cer>t'am, caritatem perfectam, humilitatem, pacienciam, pietatem, diligenciam, mansuetudinem, abstinenciam, sobrietatem, castitatem, obedienciam, et in hac vita deo meo placitam
- 10 conuersacionem, et in futuro perpetue Beatitudinis iocunditatem. O tu sancte aduocate michael cum omnibus angelorum et archangelorum milibus, ora pro me *et* eripe me de potestate aduersariorum meorum et adiuua me dei optinere amorem, cordis decorem, et sinceram deuocionem, ac beatam celestis glorie mansionem. Precursor christi baptista Iohannes et vos quoque
- 15 sancti patriarche *et* prophete, poscite michi a deo discretam abstinenciam, carnis mortificacionem, pacienciam, in bono perseueranciam, peccatorum indulgenciam, et uitam eternam. O Beate petre apostole *et* vos omnes sancti apostoli dei, soluite me a peccatis, defendite me a malis, confortate me in aduersis et perducite me in gloriam eterne felicitatis. per te Beate stephane
- 20 prothomartir christi et per vos omnes sancti martires detur *michi* caritas sancta, pax sincera, mens pura, uita casta, tollerancia in aduersis, mentis innocencia, vite mundicia, bonorum operum efficacia, Commissorum venia, et celestis vite gloria. O Sanctissime confessor martine compar apostolis Et vos omnes gloriosi confessores christi, orate pro me peccatore vt per vos
- 25 habeam mandatorum dei noticiam, in sermone discrecionem, continenciam et custodiam, in moribus disciplinam, in bonis operibus uirtutem *et* con-

3 patrocinia expunged and cancelled with a pen-stroke 7 certam] rectam MS, with re expunged and rec cancelled with a pen-stroke; a letter (probably t) added in another hand above c; (certam L) 19 perducite] producite MS, with ro expunged and cancelled; abbreviation for per added in same hand

stanciam, de malefactis indulgenciam et de futuro requiem eternam. *Sancta*
 uirgo katherina et vos *sancte* et *beate* uirgines *et* uidue *omnesque* sancte
 dei, impetrate michi cordis et corporis castitatem, mentis deuocionem, dei
 30 timorem, prudenciam, iusticiam, fortitudinem, temperanciam, penitencie
 amaritudinem, dei *misericiordiam et* perpetue glorie participare porcionem.
 Omnes sancti dei obsecro vos per illum qui vos sue glorie participes effecit,
 ut subueniatis michi et miseremini mei, corrigite me misericorditer, et orate
 pro me incessanter vt per vos michi detur a deo *consciencia* munda, deuocio
 35 mentis, compunctio salutaris, castitas cordis et corporis, *vita[m]* sancte et
 honneste conuersacionis, et religionis consummacio laudabilis. Adiuuate me
 omnes sancti et electi dei vt per vos peruenire valeam ad eterne exultacionis
 leticiam. prestante domino nostro ihesu *christo* Qui cum patre *et* spiritu
 sancto uiuit et regnat deus per omnia secula seculorum. Amen.

University of Toronto.

35 *vita]* vitam MS, *with m expunged and cancelled*

THE INFLUENCE OF THE *APOLOGY OF AL-KINDĪ* AND *CONTRARIETAS ALFOLICA* ON RAMON LULL'S LATE RELIGIOUS POLEMICS, 1305-1313¹

Thomas E. Burman

It is easy to see that polemical works leveled at each other by Christians and Muslims can shed light on inter-religious understanding in the Middle Ages. What is difficult is separating the valuable from the misleading. For to enter the tradition of medieval religious polemic is to come face to face with a variety of obscuring tendencies: some authors willingly distort or half-consciously misunderstand the religion they wish to debate; others merely reproduce the weary and often unimpressive arguments of their predecessors; still others couch their polemical enterprise in idiosyncratic modes of thought and writing. Discerning those passages which provide authentic insight into the religious climate of their times and into the character of the author means cutting through much that is knowingly distorted, hurriedly borrowed, or only rhetorically useful.

For such works, therefore, one important analytical tool is a dogged reckoning with the author's sources and his method of using them. Discovering how a Christian polemicist knows what he knows about Islam not only illuminates the extent of his effort to learn about the religion of the Prophet but also makes clear his method of ordering and assimilating what he discovered. Laying bare the shape of this lively process is the best way of cutting through misleading layers of distortion or repetition; for in snatching a glimpse of this process, a particular man's efforts in a specific time and place to understand an attractive yet menacing culture are brought most fully into light.

A pair of innovations and a couple of useful hints in Ramon Lull's writings of 1305 allow for just such a reckoning with the sources of his polemical

¹ The following abbreviations will be used in this article's notes: EL = *Estudios Lulianos* (Palma, 1957-); MOG = *Beati Raymundi Lulli Opera*, ed. Ivo Salzinger, 8 vols., numbered 1-6, 9-10 (Mainz 1721-42; rpt., ed. F. Stegmüller, Frankfurt, 1965); ORL = *Obres de Ramon Lull*, ed. Salvador Galmés et al., 21 vols. (Palma, 1906-50); ROL = *Raimundi Lulli Opera Latina*, ed. F. Stegmüller et al., 17 vols. (vols. 1-5, Palma, 1959-67; vols. 6-17 [Corpus Christianorum. Continuatio mediaevalia 32-39, 75-79], Turnhout, 1975-89).

works, something which his life-long habit of not citing his sources has made frustratingly difficult. In that year he wrote two of his most important polemical treatises, the crusading tract *Liber de fine* and the collection of anti-Jewish and anti-Islamic sermons *Liber praedicationis contra iudaeos*. The first work, in the midst of discussing how to convert Muslims, includes a list of Islamic beliefs about Jesus, Mary, and the Apostles which is wholly new to Lull, though he had been writing about Islam for three decades. The polemical sermons of *Liber praedicationis*, moreover, display a second innovation, for in this work Lull unexpectedly modifies the structure of his unique apologetic method which he called his *Art*. Because Lull also left behind two clues which point to what sources he had in front of him as he wrote in 1305, it is possible not only to identify the sources of these innovations but also to unfold his manner of using them.

Both of these clues appear in *Liber de fine*. The more obvious of them is an uncharacteristic recommendation of two other polemicists' anti-Islamic treatises. This occurs well into the second part of the work in which Lull sets forth an elaborate plan for the reconquest of the Holy Land and the conversion of its inhabitants. Among other things he advises that the commander of this conquering army should insure that both the faithful in the army and the infidels of the Holy Land are preached to regularly. Lull therefore suggests that there be clerics in the army who know Arabic and other barbarian languages, so that they can debate with captured unbelievers who must be taught the Catholic faith and made to understand that Muḥammad is not a prophet. This last point is very easy to prove, he suggests, "by means of a book which is called *Alquindi*, and by means of another which is called *Telif*, and by means of a third, which we wrote, called *De gentili*."²

Twenty years ago Charles Lohr convincingly argued that the first two works mentioned here were not lost treatises by Lull himself—as had often been thought³—but rather were two well-known and highly important Arab-Christian polemics against Islam which were translated into Latin in the High Middle Ages. *Alquindi* he showed to be the polemical work commonly known as the *Apology of al-Kindī*.⁴ The date of this anonymous work is

² "Quod si bene uelint auertere, facile multum est ad probandum per unum librum, qui uocatur *Alquindi*, et per alium, qui *Telif* nominatur; et per alium, quem fecimus *De gentili*" (*De fine* 2.6, ROL 9:283.1084-87).

³ As, for example, by Erhard Wolfram Platzeck; see his list of Lull's works in his *Raimund Lull, sein Leben, seine Werke, die Grundlagen seines Denkens (Prinzipienlehre)*, 2 vols., Bibliotheca Franciscana 5-6 (Rome and Düsseldorf, 1962-64), 2:7.

⁴ Charles H. Lohr, "Ramon Llull, *Liber Alquindi* and *Liber Telif*," *EL* 12 (1968): 147-53; but it should be noted that Aziz S. Atiya had suggested this conclusion earlier in his *The Crusade in the Later Middle Ages* (New York, 1938; rpt. 1965), 83, esp. n. 2.

a matter of some debate, scholars having placed it anywhere from the early ninth to the early tenth century. Though clearly written by an Arab Christian,⁵ there has also been considerable disagreement surrounding the sect of the author, though it is most likely that he was a Nestorian.⁶ At any rate its author set forth his polemic against Islam as an exchange of letters between a fictional Muslim and an equally fictional Christian.⁷ Al-Hāshimī, the Muslim, writes to his Christian friend exhorting him to become a Muslim. This exhortation forms a sort of preface for the much longer answer of the Christian friend, al-Kindī, whose letter makes up the bulk of the work. Not only did the *Apology of al-Kindī* have enormous influence in the Islamic world,⁸ but after its translation into Latin in the twelfth century as part of the famous *Collectio Toletana*, the *Apology* also became very influential in the West, since it was one of the first reliable sources of information about Islam widely available to Latin Christians.⁹ Lull conceivably could have known the work in either its Arabic or Latin version, both of which I have consulted for this study.¹⁰

⁵ Throughout this study I use the phrase "Arab Christian" to refer to any Christian whose language and culture are Arab, even though ethnically he may not be an Arab at all, as in the case of the author of *Contrarietas alfolica* discussed below; this is because the technically more correct "Arabic-speaking Christian" is clumsy. In this sense, therefore, "Arab Christian" is the counterpart to "Latin Christian" which manifestly refers to Christians other than those of ancient Latin stock.

⁶ For an outline of these debates, see G. Troupeau, "Al-Kindī, 'Abd al-Masīh b. Ishāk," *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*, new ed., vol. 5 (Leiden, 1986), 120-21.

⁷ This is the view of Armand Abel ("L'Apologie d'Al Kindi et sa place dans la polémique islamo-chrétienne" in *L'Oriente cristiana nella storia della civiltà* [Rome, 1964], 501-3) and also more recently of Rachid Haddad in his *La Trinité divine chez les théologiens arabes (750-1050)* (Paris, 1985), 40-43. Georges Tartar, however, argues—unconvincingly to my mind—that the letter of al-Hāshimī was indeed written by a Muslim just as it purports to be; see his "L'authenticité des épîtres d'al-Hāshimī et d'al-Kindī sous le Calife al-Ma'mūn (813-834)" in *Actes du premier congrès international d'études arabes chrétiennes*, ed. K. Samir, *Orientalia christiana analecta* 218 (Rome, 1982), 207-21.

⁸ On the *Apology's* place in Muslim polemic against Christianity and for a summary of its contents, see Georges Anawati, "Polémique, apologie et dialogue islamo-chrétiens: Positions classiques médiévales et positions contemporaines," *Euntes docete* 22 (1969): 380-92; and also Abel, "L'Apologie d'Al Kindi," 503-23.

⁹ On this Western influence, see Norman Daniel, *Islam and the West: The Making of an Image* (Edinburgh, 1960), 6, 230-31. For a thorough discussion of the *Collectio Toletana* and its importance, see M.-Th. d'Alverny, "Deux traductions latines du Coran au moyen âge," *Archives d'histoire doctrinale et littéraire du moyen âge* 22-23 (1947-48): 69-113; and James Kritzeck, *Peter the Venerable and Islam* (Princeton, 1964), passim.

¹⁰ *Risālat 'Abd Allāh ibn Ismā'īl al-Hāshimī ilā 'Abd al-Masīh ibn Ishāq al-Kindī wa-risālat al-Kindī ilā al-Hāshimī*, ed. A. Tien (London, 1885). An unsatisfactory edition of the Latin version can be found in J. Muñoz Sendino, "Apologia del cristianismo de al-Kindī," *Miscelanea Comillas* 11-12 (1949): 339-460. Since he used only late manuscripts, I have relied principally on the earliest manuscript version discovered by d'Alverny, Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal 1162, fols. 140r-178r, on which see d'Alverny, "Deux traductions,"

More tentatively, Lohr identified the work which Lull called *Telif* as the anonymous polemical work known by its peculiar Latin title *Contrarietas alfolica*.¹¹ Translated into Latin in the early thirteenth century, perhaps by Mark of Toledo,¹² this work appears to depend on a living Mozarabic polemical tradition.¹³ Unfortunately, the Arabic original has been lost and only one problematic sixteenth-century manuscript contains the Latin version.¹⁴ This treatise also exerted significant influence on Latin Christian polemics against Islam.¹⁵ The third work mentioned by Lull, *De gentili*, Lohr concluded to be a lost earlier version of Lull's own *Book of the Gentile*,¹⁶ and it does not concern us here. Given Lull's usual silence about his sources, this recommendation of two works by other authors suggests firmly that they had made a deep impression on him and perhaps on his writing as well.

A second clue, which only becomes significant in connection with this first one, supports this conclusion. In the course of discussing how Muslims may be converted to Christianity in the first part of *De fine*, Lull asserts, as he had before,¹⁷ that well-educated Muslims do not really believe that Muḥammad is a prophet, because he was a sinner and his law is filled with many lies. "Some Arab Christians," he then remarks, "among whom I am able to be called one, are experts about this."¹⁸ When seen in the light of the recommendation of the *Apology of al-Kindī* and *Contrarietas alfolica*, this strange statement, which Charles Lohr has used to help specify Lull's own understanding of his unusual life and mission,¹⁹ becomes a second indication that Lull had these works before him in 1305. Both these works

77 ff. When I quote directly from the work, the Arabic version will appear first in the note, followed by "*Risālah*" and the page number; then the Latin of the early manuscript will appear followed by either "*Epistola saraceni*" or "*Rescriptum christiani*" (depending on the part of the work cited) with a folio number and a reference to Muñoz's edition. Indirect citations will include only the above short titles along with the page numbers of the various versions in the same order.

¹¹ Lohr, "Ramon Lull, Liber Alquindi," 153-58.

¹² M.-Th. d'Alverny and G. Vajda, "Marc de Tolède, traducteur d'Ibn Tūmart," *Al-Andalus* 16 (1951): 124.

¹³ Daniel, *Islam and the West*, 12.

¹⁴ Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale lat. 3394, fols. 237v-263r; on this manuscript, see Lohr, "Ramon Lull, Liber Alquindi," 158; and d'Alverny and Vajda, "Marc de Tolède," 124-28.

¹⁵ See, e. g., Daniel, *Islam and the West*, 35, 65, 76, and 172.

¹⁶ Lohr, "Ramon Lull, Liber Alquindi," 159-60.

¹⁷ For example, in *Doctrina pueril* 71.11, ed. G. Schib (Barcelona, 1972), 165.

¹⁸ "Et de hoc sunt experti aliqui arabici christiani; unus inter quos possum dici" (*De fine* 1.2, ROL 9:256.180-81). Lull referred to himself as a *christianus arabicus* at least one other time in *Disputatio Raymundi christiani et Hamar saraceni* (MOG 4:431 [= int. 7, p. 1]).

¹⁹ See Charles H. Lohr, "Christianus arabicus, cuius nomen Raimundus Lullus," *Freiburger Zeitschrift für Philosophie und Theologie*, 4th ser., 31 (1984): 57-59.

written by Arab Christians do indeed attempt to show that Muḥammad was not a prophet because of his sinfulness and the incoherence of his revelation. There is every reason, therefore, to believe that the Arab Christians he had in mind here are precisely those two whose works he recommends later in *De fine*. His inclusion of himself as one of these *christiani arabici*, moreover, is a suggestive parallel to his mention of one of his own works in company with the *Apology* and *Contrarietas alfolica* in the later passage.

If we are looking for possible sources for the innovations in Lull's writing in 1305 the two works suggested by these two clues are splendid candidates, therefore, for Lull not only mentioned them—an unusual occurrence on its own—but praised them also. It would not be terribly surprising if he borrowed from them as well.

But in order to ascertain if this is so, these two innovations must be examined in greater detail. The first and less obvious of them occurs in *De fine* when Lull describes what Muslims believe in order to help his readers convince them of the errors of their ways. In the course of this discussion Lull inserts a concise outline of the Islamic beliefs about Jesus, Mary, and the Apostles:

The Muslims believe that Our Lord Jesus Christ is the Son and Spirit of God. But they do not believe that he is God. And they believe that he was the best man who ever was or is or will be; and that he was conceived by the Holy Spirit and born of the Virgin Mary. And they believe that the Blessed Mother Mary is a virgin and holy; and likewise about the Apostles, that they are holy.²⁰

This cluster of statements is almost wholly new to Lull's thought on Islam, though he had been writing about this religion for three decades. With the exception of the sentence about the Virgin, there are no parallels to these statements in Lull's earlier works. What is more, he repeated this statement with small variations twice over the next six years, in *De acquisitione terrae sanctae*, written in 1309,²¹ and *Liber per quem poterit cognosci quae lex*

²⁰ "Saraceni credunt, quod Dominus noster Iesus Christus sit Filius Dei et spiritus. Sed non credunt, quod ipse sit Deus. Et credunt, quod ipse fuit melior homo, qui umquam fuisset, neque sit, neque erit. Et quod fuit conceptus de Spiritu sancto et natus ex Maria Virgine. Et credunt, quod beata mater Maria sit virgo et sancta; et sic de apostolis, quod sint sancti" (*De fine* 1.2, ROL 9:255.144-49).

²¹ "Sarraceni sunt circa fidem catholicam pro tanto quia credunt quod Christus est filius Dei et spiritus Dei et quod est melior homo qui umquam fuit uel erit, et quod beata Maria est sancta et fuit virgo ante partum et post partum. Et credunt quod apostoli sunt sancti et in paradyso" (Lull, *De acquisitione terrae sanctae*, Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale lat. 15450, fol. 546rb, lines 22-27); there are two published editions of this work which I have been

sit magis bona, magis magna et etiam magis vera, written in 1311.²²

For the most part this summary accurately represents Islamic beliefs. That Christ is the best man who will ever live is an idea that has clear parallels in Islamic tradition.²³ The Qur'ān shows an enormous reverence for Christ, saying of him, for example, that he is "esteemed in this world and the hereafter."²⁴ The Prophet's esteem for Jesus was expanded by later tradition so that the standard Qur'ānic commentator al-Bayḍāwī, a contemporary of Lull, could say that Jesus is rightly referred to as lord (*sayyid*) in the Qur'ān because he was to be chief among his people and surpass them, for "he was superior to all mankind in that he never considered disobedience."²⁵ This high view of Christ found its way into Christian-Muslim polemics. Contemporary Christians, such as Peter the Venerable²⁶ and Richard Fitzralph, noted that Jesus was believed by Muslims to be the best man who ever lived, while Lull's remarkable contemporary William of Tripoli wrote of how Christ was praised in Islam as the "more excellent among all prophets and messengers," and that among Abraham, Moses, Jesus, and Muḥammad, "Jesus the Word of God is the greater."²⁷ A Mozarab in twelfth-century Spain cleverly used this idea to support the

unable to consult: E. Longpré, *Criterion* 3 (Barcelona, 1927), 265-78; and E. Kamar, *Studia Orientalia Christiana. Collectanea* 6 (Cairo, 1961), 103-31.

²² "Dixit unum fore Deum omnium creatorem; insuper quod Ihesus Christus est spiritus Dei et natus ex beata uirgine Maria, ipsa uirgine permanente; preterea quod Ihesus Christus uiuit in celo et quod melior homo prae ceteris affirmatur quam fuit nec erit et duodecim apostolos credunt fore homines sanctos et sunt saluati in paradiso" (Lull, *Liber per quem quisque potest discernere quae lex melior, maior et clarior ac uerior habeatur*, prologue, Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek Clm. 10495, fol. 182vb, lines 8-16). This work is more commonly known by the title I have used in the text.

²³ *De fine* 1.2: "Et credunt, quod ipse fuit melior homo, qui umquam fuisset, neque sit, neque erit" (ROL 9:255.145-47); *De acquisitione* 2.2: "quod est melior homo qui vmquam fuit uel erit" (fol. 546rb, lines 24-25); *Liber per quem*, prologue: "quod melior homo prae ceteris affirmatur quam fuit nec erit" (fol. 182vb, lines 12-13).

²⁴ "Wajīhan fī al-dunyā wa-al-ākhirah" (Sūrah 3:40). In this and the following references to the Qur'ān I have followed the verse numeration of G. Fluegel in his *Corani textus Arabicus*, 3d ed. (Leipzig, 1858).

²⁵ "Yasūdu qawmahu wa-yafūquhum wa-kāna fā'iq lil-nās kullihim fī annahu mā hamma bi-ma'siyah" ('Abd Allāh ibn 'Umar al-Bayḍāwī, *Anwār al-tanzīl wa-asrār al-ta'wīl* [commenting on Sūrah 3:34], ed. H. O. Fleischer, *Beidhawī commentarius in Coranum*, 2 vols. [Leipzig, 1846; rpt. Osnabrück, 1968], 1:154).

²⁶ "[Mafumet] Christum Dominum maiorem omnibus extitisse confirmat" (Peter the Venerable, *Summa totius haeresis Saracenorum*, ed. J. Kritzeck, in *Peter the Venerable and Islam*, 207).

²⁷ "Item laudatur Christus et dicitur excellentior inter omnes prophetas"; "Inter quos quatuor Jesus verbum Dei est maior" (William of Tripoli, *Tractatus de statu Saracenorum et de Mahomete pseudo-propheta et eorum lege et fide* 40, 52, ed. H. Prutz in *Kulturgeschichte der Kreuzzüge* [Berlin, 1883; rpt. Hildesheim, 1964], 594, 597); see also Daniel, *Islam and the West*, 169 and also 173-74 for Richard Fitzralph's views; on this question in general, see *ibid.*, 166-75.

Christian doctrine of the Incarnation. After citing the above-mentioned verse from the Qur'ān (3:40), he asks, "who is more esteemed in this world and the hereafter than the Messiah, the Son of God?"²⁸

It was also common in the Islamic tradition to revere the holiness of Mary and the Apostles. Mary's giving birth in the state of virginity is attested in the Qur'ān in such verses as 3:42 and this led to Mary being regarded as sinless in company with all the prophets in later Islam.²⁹ The Apostles are called *Ḥawārīyūn* in the Qur'ān, a term of debated origin but which often is held to mean "pure ones" or "those cleansed from defilement."³⁰ Al-Bayḍāwī, for example, in commenting on this verse says that the singular *ḥawārī* is taken from a root which means "pure white" and that it is applied to the disciples of Christ because of the "purity of their minds and the holiness of their thoughts."³¹ Whatever the origin of this word, the Apostles themselves were often praised for their holiness and purity in later Islam. Al-Qarāfī notes that it is not disputed that Jesus' Apostles were praised in the Qur'ān or that they were distinguished in worship of God,³² while Ibn Ḥazm, in his vast polemic against all the religions and sects opposed to rigidly orthodox, Sunni Islam, expressed this in bold terms: "As for the Apostles whom God praised [in the Qur'ān], well they are saints of God."³³

One of these new statements about Islamic beliefs presents a particularly difficult, but ultimately illuminating problem. For at the beginning of this list Lull says, "The Muslims believe that Our Lord Jesus Christ is the Son and Spirit of God." Now nothing is more foreign to Islam than referring to Jesus as the Son of God. Sūrah 19 forcefully expresses this: "They say,

²⁸ "Wa-ayna awjah fi al-dunya wa-al-ākhirah min al-Masīḥ ibn Allāh?" (al-Khazrajī, Aḥmad ibn 'Abd al-Ṣamad, *Maqāmi' al-ṣulbān* 3, ed. 'Abd al-Majīd al-Sharnī [Tunis, 1975], 31). This work, like the *Apology*, consists of an exchange of letters, though in this case the exchange is apparently not fictional and the order is reversed. A Toledan priest sends a short treatise, from which the above citation is taken, to a learned Muslim who rebuts the priest's claims at length. For a discussion of its authorship and the occasion of its writing, see Fernando de la Granja, "Milagros españoles en una obra polémica musulmana (El 'Kitāb Maqāmi' al-Sulbān' del Jazrayī)," *Al-Andalus* 33 (1968): 317-31; for a brief but invaluable discussion of its place in Spanish and North African Muslim polemical literature, see M. de Epalza, "Notes pour une histoire des polémiques anti-chrétiennes dans l'occident musulman," *Arabica* 18 (1971): 99-106, esp. 104.

²⁹ Geoffrey Parrinder, *Jesus in the Qur'ān*, (London, 1965), 62.

³⁰ Kenneth Cragg, *Jesus and the Muslim: An Exploration* (London, 1985), 31.

³¹ "Ḥawārī . . . min al-ḥawar wa-huwa al-bayād al-khālīṣ . . . summiya bi-hi aṣḥāb 'Isā li-khulūṣ nīyatihim wa-naqā' sarīratihim" (al-Bayḍāwī, *Anwār al-tanzīl* [commenting on 3:45], ed. Fleischer, *Beidhawī commentarius* 1:157).

³² Aḥmad ibn Idrīs al-Qarāfī, *Al-ajwibah al-fākhirah 'an al-as'ilah al-fājirah* 1 (Cairo, 1986), 96-98.

³³ "Ammā al-Ḥawārīyūn alladhī athnā Allāh 'alay-him fa-ūlā'ika auliya' Allāh" ('Alī ibn Aḥmad Ibn Ḥazm, *Al-faṣl fi al-milal wa-al-ahwā' wa-al-niḥal* 2 [Cairo, 1964], 48).

'The Merciful One has adopted a son.' Verily you have uttered a horrible thing!"³⁴ Moreover, it was known to European contemporaries of Lull, such as Simon Simeon, the Irish Franciscan, that Jesus is not called "the Son of God" in Islam.³⁵ It must be noted here, however, that the wording of the last version of this summary is slightly different. In *Liber per quem* Lull says only that Muslims believe that Jesus is "the Spirit of God."³⁶ Furthermore, at about the same time Lull observed in still another polemical work, *De participatione christianorum et saracenorum*, that Muslims believe that Christ is the "Spirit of God and Word of God."³⁷ Now Christ as "Spirit and Word of God" is definitely part of Islamic tradition. Although Christ is never referred to in precisely these terms in the Qur'ān, several passages contain very similar ideas. The closest parallel is probably Sūrah 4:169, which is a warning to Christians:

O people of the Book! Do not exceed proper bounds in your religion and say nothing of God except the truth. The Messiah Jesus, Son of Mary, is only a messenger of God and his Word which he cast into Mary, and a Spirit from him.³⁸

Now to say that Jesus is a Word *from* God or a Spirit *from* him, as this passage clearly does, is not the same as insisting that he is the Word *of* God or the Spirit *of* God. Indeed, the Qur'ān never refers to Jesus by the completely grammatical genitive construction *kalimat Allāh*, which corresponds precisely to the Latin *verbum Dei* but only expresses the relationship by means of a preposition, as in "a Word from God,"³⁹ or a possessive pronoun, "his Word," as in the cited passage.⁴⁰ Significantly though, for various reasons it became something of a commonplace in Islam to refer to Jesus using the genitive constructions "Spirit of God" or "Word of God," and he was even addressed as "O Spirit and Word of God."⁴¹

³⁴ "Wa-qālū ittakhadha al-Rahmān waladan la-qad ji'tum sha'yan iddan" (Sūrah 19:91).

³⁵ Daniel, *Islam and the West*, 171.

³⁶ Lull, *Liber per quem*, prologue (fol. 182vb, lines 9-10).

³⁷ "Saraceni dicunt, quod Christus non est Deus, sed creatura, licet dicant, quod est spiritus Dei et uerbum Dei" (Lull, *De participatione christianorum et saracenorum* 1, ROL 16:247.59-60).

³⁸ Yā-ahl al-kitāb lā taghlū fī dīnikum wa-lā taqūlū 'alā Allāh illā al-ḥaqq innamā al-Maṣīḥ 'Isā ibn Maryam rasūl Allāh wa-kalimatuhu alqāhā ilā Maryam wa-rūḥ min-hu" (Sūrah 4:169); see also Parrinder, *Jesus in the Qur'ān*, 46.

³⁹ "Kalimah min Allāh," as in Sūrah 3:34; see Cragg, *Jesus and the Muslim*, 32.

⁴⁰ "Kalimatuhu"; see n. 38 above.

⁴¹ Parrinder, *Jesus in the Qur'ān*, 47. It might be noted that "The Word of God" or "Spirit of God" were phrases commonly used to allude to Jesus in Persian poetry; see G. M. Wickens, "The Frozen Periphery of Allusion in Classical Persian Literature," *Literature East and West* 18 (1974): 175.

The twelfth-century Spanish Muslim Qāḍī 'Iyād, for example, in his famous book in praise of Muḥammad, notes that the Traditions refer to Jesus as "The Word of God and his Spirit."⁴²

So common was this practice that it quickly became a focal point for debate between Christians and Muslims, since Christians could argue that if Jesus was the "Word and Spirit of God," as Muslims themselves believed, then he must be divine. Such a view can, for example, be found in the writings of Greek Christians such as St. John Damascene, Nicetus, and Barthelemy of Edessa.⁴³ As a result, the ninth-century Muslim polemicist al-Jāḥiẓ felt compelled to respond to this argument,⁴⁴ as did the Egyptian al-Qarāfi in the thirteenth century.⁴⁵ In the West it can be found early in the writings of Eulogius and Paulus Alvarus in the ninth century,⁴⁶ as well as in the writings of Peter the Venerable in the twelfth century.⁴⁷ An anonymous Toledan priest in the twelfth-century Spanish *Maqāmi' al-ṣulbān* similarly argues in this way,⁴⁸ while Lull's contemporary William of Tripoli enthusiastically affirms that Jesus is known as the "Word and Spirit of God" in Islam.⁴⁹

With the exception, therefore, of his assertion that Muslims believe that Jesus is the Son of God, Lull's summary of Islamic beliefs about Jesus, Mary, and the Apostles accurately reflects Islamic tradition. With his knowledge of both Latin and Arabic, Lull could have gleaned this information from a number of sources. As it turns out, however, all of the elements

⁴² [Abū al-Faḍl] 'Iyād ibn Mūsā ibn 'Iyād [ibn 'Amrūn] al-Yaḥṣubī, Qāḍī 'Iyād, *Al-shifā' bi-ta'rif ḥuqūq al-muṣṭafā* 1, ed. 'Alī Muḥammad al-Bajawī (Beirut, 1984), 280.

⁴³ Adel-Théodore Khoury, *Polémique byzantine contre l'Islam (VIII^e-XIII^e s.)*, 2d printing (Leiden, 1972), 186-91.

⁴⁴ Abū 'Uthmān 'Amr ibn Baḥr al-Jāḥiẓ, *Al-radd 'alā al-Naṣārā* 8, ed. J. Finkel in *Thalāth rasā'il li-Abī 'Uthmān 'Amr ibn Baḥr al-Jāḥiẓ* (Cairo, 1926), 36-37; cf. I. S. Allouche's translation in "Un traité de polémique christiano-musulmane au IX^e siècle," *Hesperis* 26 (1939): 151-52.

⁴⁵ Al-Qarāfi, *Al-ajwibah al-fākhira* 1, pp. 79-88.

⁴⁶ For Eulogius, see Norman Daniel, *The Arabs and Mediaeval Europe*, 2d ed. (London, 1979), 41. For Paulus Alvarus, see Edward P. Colbert, *The Martyrs of Córdoba (850-859): A Study of the Sources*, The Catholic University of America Studies in Mediaeval History, n.s., 17 (Washington, 1962), 277; and Paulus Alvarus, *Indiculus luminosus* 9, ed. J. Gil, *Corpus scriptorum Muzarabicorum*, 2 vols. (Madrid, 1973), 1:281.5-10.

⁴⁷ "[Mahumet] Christum Dominum maiorem omnibus extitisse confirmat, natum de uirgine predicat, nuncium Dei, uerbum Dei, spiritum Dei fatetur . . ." (Peter the Venerable, *Summa totius haerisis Saracenorum*, ed. Kritzeck, *Peter the Venerable and Islam*, 207).

⁴⁸ "A-lam yasma' mā fī al-kitāb alladhī jā'a bi-hi ṣāḥib sharī'atika annahu rūḥ Allāh wa-kalimatuhu" (*Maqāmi' al-ṣulbān* 3, p. 31).

⁴⁹ "Unde apud dictos Sarracenos in genere credendorum est articulus grandis: Abraham est amicus Dei, Moyses autem prolocutor Dei, Jesus, Marie filius, uerbum et spiritus Dei et Macometus est Dei nuncius" (William of Tripoli, *De statu Sarracenorum* 52, Prutz, *Kulturgeschichte der Kreuzzüge*, 597).

of this summary, including that one strikingly incorrect assertion, can be traced to either the *Apology of al-Kindī* or *Contrarietas alfolica*, or to both.

The Islamic belief that Jesus is the best man who ever lived is suggested more than once by the *Apology*. The anonymous author points out, for example, that Muḥammad himself taught that the Word of God had become flesh and was made man.⁵⁰ The Latin version embellishes this slightly, suggesting that Muḥammad had also taught Jesus' perfection: "See . . . how he demonstrates to you that Christ is a perfect man, embodied with and united to the Word of God."⁵¹ Later in the work, while considering the Islamic belief in the intercession of Muḥammad on the Day of Judgment, the author reminds his Muslim friend that the true judge on that day will be Christ, who the Qur'ān says is "esteemed in this world and the next" (3:40) and is without equal in piety.⁵² The Latin version again slightly embellishes the Arabic original:

I believe and do not doubt that our lord Jesus Christ is to come to judge the living and the dead, about which your Scriptures testify, that he is the most excellent of all in this world and in the future, and no one is glorious except him alone.⁵³

From "esteemed in this world and the hereafter," the Latin version has arrived at "most excellent of all in this world and in the future." Similarly, when the author is setting forth the biblical account of the Annunciation and Nativity of Christ, he points out how Muḥammad also recorded these events. To demonstrate this he includes a large portion of Sura 3, which is taken up to a considerable extent with the lives of Mary and Jesus. Here parts of verses 3:37-40 appear, and again in the Latin version the Arabic *waḡīh*, "esteemed," has become *excellentissimus*, while the Qur'ānic idea that Jesus is "one of those brought close" (*min al-muqarrabīn*) to God is transformed into his being a saint:

⁵⁰ "Fa-ifham kayfa . . . ṣarraḡa bi-anna al-Masīḡ kalimat Allāh tajassadat wa-ṣārat insānan" (*Risālah*, p. 66).

⁵¹ "Vide . . . qualiter demonstrat tibi quoniam Christus homo est perfectus, uerbo Dei corporatus et unitus" (*Rescriptum christiani*, fol. 149vb, lines 11-15, Muñoz, 400.15-19).

⁵² "Lā nashukku anna sayyidanā . . . Yasū' al-Masīḡ alladhī shahada la-hu kitābuka annahu huwa al-waḡīh fi al-dunyā wa-al-ākhirah. . . yaḡkumu bi-al-qist wa-yaqḡī bi-al-ḡaqq bayna al-khalā'iq fi dhālika al-yawm" (*Risālah*, p. 203).

⁵³ "Ego autem credo et non dubito quod dominus noster Ihesus Christus uenturus est iudicare uiuos et mortuos; de quo tua scriptura testificatur, quoniam ipse est excellentissimus omnium in hoc seculo et in futuro, et nullus gloriosus nisi ipse solus" (*Rescriptum christiani*, fol. 166rb, lines 10-15, Muñoz, 436.9-13). That Jesus, not Muḥammad, will be the judge on the last day is also an idea with a long history among some Muslim groups. See Louis Gardet, *Dieu et la destinée de l'homme*, Études Musulmanes 9 (Paris, 1967), 291-92; and Daniel, *Islam and the West*, 316-17.

O Mary, adhere to God, because God announces his word to you, whose name is Christ Jesus, Son of Mary, most excellent among the saints in this world and in the future.⁵⁴

The fact that the Latin version of the *Apology* has taken "esteemed" to mean "most excellent" is of great significance here, for it accounts for Lull's statements that Christ is considered not merely to be esteemed but indeed the best man who ever lived. Peter the Venerable, who is known to have been influenced by the *Apology*, used a phrase very much like this.⁵⁵ Lull was clearly influenced by the *Apology* in much the same way in *De fine*, *De acquisitione*, and *Liber per quem*.

Ramon Lull had long known that Mary was revered for her sanctity in Islam, for unlike the other statements discussed here, this one can be found in one work much earlier than *De fine*. In chapter 287 of the *Libre de contemplació en Deu* he notes that in one manner the Muslims praise Our Lady in that they hold that she

was a virgin before and after birth and that she conceived by the Word of God and they say that her Son was a prophet and that she was a very good lady and was without sin.⁵⁶

But though Lull made this observation in his first great work in 1273-74, he does not do so again until 1305 in *De fine*. In this case, then, it would seem that the *Apology* and *Contrarietas alfolica* reminded Lull of something he had known before, for both works contain passages describing the Islamic reverence for Mary. In the letter inviting al-Kindī to become a Muslim, al-Hāshimī says that Christ was really only a messenger of God but "Mary his mother was righteous." The Latin version strengthens this, calling her a saint.⁵⁷ In al-Kindī's response he cites Sūrah 3:37, in which

⁵⁴ "O Maria, adhere Deo, quoniam Deus annuntiabit tibi uerbum suum, cuius nomen est Christus Ihesus, filius Marie, excellentissimus inter sanctos et in hoc seculo et in futuro" (*Rescriptum christiani*, fol. 171ra, line 32-fol. 171rb, line 3, Muñoz, 446.17-20); cf. the Arabic: "yā Maryam uqnuṭī li-rabbiki . . . yā Maryam inna Allāh yubashshiruki bi-kalimah min-hu ismuhu al-Masīḥ 'Isā ibn Maryam wajīhan fī al-dunyā wa-al-ākhirah wa-min al-muqarrabīn" (*Risālah*, p. 233).

⁵⁵ On the influence of the *Apology* on Peter, see Kritzeck, *Peter the Venerable and Islam*, 115-16.

⁵⁶ "Sensualment sentim e entellectualment entenem que los sarrayns amen nostra dona per una manera e desamen la per altra. On, la manera segons la qual la amen, es, *Sènyer*, en so que la loen que fo verge ans del part e après del part e que concebé de la Paraula de Deu e dien que son Fill fo propheta e dien que ella fo molt bona dona e que fo sens peccat" (*Libre de contemplació en Deu* 287.10, ORL 7:176); see Armand Llinars, "Références et influences arabes dans le Livre de contemplació," *EL* 24 (1980): 114-15. Lull makes a similar point more briefly in his *Libre del gentil e dels tres savis* 4.3.2, ed. A. Bonner in his *Obres selectes de Ramon Llull* (1232-1316), 2 vols. (Mallorca, 1989), 1:237.

⁵⁷ "Mā al-Masīḥ . . . illā rasūl . . . wa-ummuhu ṣiddīqah" (*Risālah*, p. 34); "Christus

the angels say to Mary, "O Mary, God has elected you and purified you and exalted you over all women."⁵⁸

Contrarietas alfolica is a good deal more forceful, however. In chapter ten, while examining what the Qur'ān says about Jesus, the author points out that

the Qur'ān also says that Mary herself, a virgin, conceived and gave birth and was (still) clean and holy; and there was no filth or uncleanness mixed with her.⁵⁹

Further on in the treatise the author writes that "Mary, clean and holy, conceived Christ," while Muḥammad's parents were idolators.⁶⁰ The only feature of Lull's new statements about the Islamic view of Mary that is lacking in these two sources is his eccentric insistence in *De acquisitione terrae sanctae* and the *Liber per quem* that Muslims believe in her perpetual virginity as does Catholic tradition—"she was a virgin before birth and after birth."⁶¹ Since, however, Lull also asserted this much earlier in the *Libre de contemplació en Deu*, it seems likely that he received this information from another source before he became familiar with the *Apology* and *Contrarietas alfolica*.

Contrarietas alfolica also reveals that Muslims revere Jesus' disciples. In an appendix to chapter ten, while defending the Christian belief in the death of Jesus on the cross (something Islam has always denied), the author writes that

the witnesses of his death, resurrection, and ascension into heaven, the blessed Apostles, who are much praised in the Qur'ān—they are called the triumphs of God and his excellent ones—died for Christ.⁶²

uero filius Marie non est nisi nuntius. . . . Mater autem ipsius erat sancta" (*Epistola Sarraceni*, fol. 145va, lines 2-5, Muñoz, 390.32-34).

⁵⁸ "Yā Maryam inna Allāh iṣṭafāki wa-ṭahharaki wa-iṣṭafāki 'alā nisā' al-'ālamīn" (*Risālah*, p. 233); "O Maria, Deus elegit te et super omnes mulieres exaltauit te" (*Rescriptum Christiani*, fol. 171ra, lines 31-32, Muñoz, 446.16-17).

⁵⁹ "Dicit etiam Alchoranus quod ipsa Maria Virgo concepit et genuit et fuit munda et sancta; nec fuit ei admixta aliqua spurcicia uel immunditia" (*Contrarietas alfolica* 10, Bibliothèque Nationale lat. 3394, fol. 255v).

⁶⁰ "Pater et mater Machometi immundi et idolatrae ardent in igne aeterno. Maria munda et sancta concepit Christum" (*Contrarietas alfolica* 10, fol. 256r).

⁶¹ See nn. 21 and 22 above.

⁶² "Vnde et postea pro Christo mortui sunt, mortis eius, resurrectionis, et ascensionis in caelum testes, apostoli benedicti qui multum in Alchorani laudati—dicuntur triumphi Dei et eius praecipui" (*Contrarietas alfolica* 10, appendix 2, fol. 259v, lines 1-4). The odd use of *triumphi* here may be a mistranslation into Latin of the Arabic *naṣārā*, which, derived from "Nazareth," was used to refer to Christians in general, but which happens to have the same three radical consonants as the Arabic verb *naṣara*, which can mean "to make victorious or triumphant."

It is not far from this suggestion that the Qur'ān praises the disciples to Lull's assertion that they are revered as saints.

Lull was also aware before 1305 of the Qur'ānic basis for the notion that Jesus is held to be the "Word and Spirit of God" by Muslims. In the passage describing the Islamic belief in Mary's virginal conception cited above from the *Libre de contemplació* Lull noted that Mary was believed to have been impregnated by the "Word of God,"⁶³ while in the *Book of the Gentile* Lull has the Muslim protagonist remark that in Islam Jesus is a prophet who was the "Spirit of God."⁶⁴ But Lull does not refer to Jesus as the "Word and Spirit of God" in any of his works until *De participatione*.

Significantly, both the *Apology* and *Contrarietas alfolica* use this phrase prominently. The *Apology* cites most of verse 4:169, which, as was demonstrated above, is one of the key elements of the Qur'ānic basis of this view.⁶⁵ In the same section of the work, in which the *Apology's* anonymous author is attempting to argue that Muḥammad actually did profess the Trinity, albeit in a confused and perverse manner, he quite prominently uses the popular phrase based on this verse: Muḥammad himself, he argues, says that "God is singular and everlasting; then he turns and contradicts his teaching, saying that Christ is the Spirit and Word of God."⁶⁶

Chapter ten of *Contrarietas alfolica* uses the same phrase, though even more frequently. Like the *Apology*, *Contrarietas alfolica* includes the verses from the Qur'ān upon which the belief that Christ is the Word and Spirit of God is based. This occurs in a passage in which Muḥammad and Christ, as presented in the Qur'ān, are compared:

Now it says that Christ Jesus is the Word of God incarnated through the Holy Spirit and sent by God. Whence it is said . . . *O Mary, God is giving news to you about a Word from himself whose name is Christ.* And again he said . . . *Jesus, Son of Mary is a messenger of God and a Word of him, and he poured it into Mary, and he is a Spirit from him.*⁶⁷

⁶³ "Concebé de la Paraula de Deu," see n. 57 above.

⁶⁴ *Libre del gentil* 4.3.2 (*Obres selectes* 1:237).

⁶⁵ *Risālah*, p. 66; *Rescriptum Christiani*, fol. 149vb, lines 7-11, Muñoz, 400.12-15.

⁶⁶ "Yaqūlu anna Allāh fard samad thumma yarji' u fa-yunāqīdu qawlahu wa-yaqūlu anna la-hu rūḥan wa-kalimah" (*Risālah*, p. 59); cf. the Latin: "Ipse enim dixit: 'Deus unus est singularis solidus.' Deinde contra hoc ipsum loquens, dicit Christum spiritum Dei et uerbum" (*Rescriptum christiani*, fol. 149ra, lines 7-9, Muñoz, 398.27-29).

⁶⁷ "Dicit enim quod Christus Iesus est uerbum Dei et per Spiritum Sanctum incarnatus et a Deo missus. Vnde dicitur . . . *O Maria, Deus annuntians est tibi de uerbo a seipso cui nomen Christus.* Et iterum dixit . . . *Iesus filius Mariae nuntius Dei est et uerbum eius, et infudit illud Marie, et spiritus ab ipso*" (*Contrarietas alfolica* 10, fol. 255v).

Having cited these two Qur'ānic passages (verses 3:40 and 4:169), the author feels authorized to employ the simpler "Word and Spirit of God" several times later in the text, especially in a long passage in which he attempts to demonstrate that if Christ is indeed the Word and Spirit of God, then the Christian doctrine of the Incarnation must necessarily follow. The reader thus encounters such passages as "Because if it be said that Jesus is the Word of God and his Spirit . . . it is suitable that 'Spirit' be taken essentially . . ." ⁶⁸ and "How is it fitting that the Word of God and his Spirit were clay?" ⁶⁹

But what of Christ as "Son and Spirit of God," as Lull insisted in the earlier versions of this summary of Islamic beliefs? This assertion can also be traced—albeit in a complex manner—to the *Apology* and *Contrarietas alfolica*, since an important theme of both these works is that if indeed Christ is considered the "Word and Spirit of God" in Islam, then the natural corollary of this is the doctrine of the Incarnation of the Son of God.

This argument appears briefly in the *Apology*. At the end of his defense of the Trinity, the Christian tells his Muslim friend that real Christians do not believe in the false trinity ascribed to them by Muḥammad, which is really an account of heretical Christian beliefs. Rather, true Christians believe in one God having a Word and Spirit without any division of unity. Despite his many other errors, even Muḥammad affirmed this, the author insists. After citing verse 4:169, in which Christ is called a Word and Spirit from God, the author then, in the Arabic version, calls upon his friend to notice how Muḥammad insisted on belief in a God possessing a Word and Spirit but then also explained how Jesus was the Word of God become flesh. What could be clearer than this, he asks. The Latin version enthusiastically expands this argument as follows:

See therefore how he [Muḥammad] says that God has a Word and Spirit and orders you to believe in one God having a Word and Spirit; and how he demonstrates to you that Christ is a perfect man, embodied with and united to the Word of God. Could the Incarnation of Christ be declared more openly by anyone? ⁷⁰

⁶⁸ "Quod si dicatur quod Iesus est verbum Dei et spiritus eius . . . oportet quod dicitur spiritus accipi essentialiter . . ." (*Contrarietas alfolica* 10, fols. 256v-257r).

⁶⁹ "Quomodo conuenit ut dicatis quod Dei verbum et spiritus eius limus fuerit?" (*Contrarietas alfolica* 10, fol. 257r).

⁷⁰ "Vide ergo tu qualiter hic dicat Deum habere uerbum et spiritum et iubeat te credere unum Deum habentem uerbum et spiritum; et qualiter demonstrat tibi quoniam Christus homo est perfectus, uerbo Dei corporatus et unitus. Nunquid apertius Christi incarnatio ab aliquo poterit declarari?" (*Rescriptum christiani*, fol. 149vb, lines 11-17, Muñoz, 400.15-20); cf. the Arabic of the *Risālah*: "fa-ifham kayfa awjaba anna Allāh . . . dhū kalimah wa-rūḥ wa-ṣarraḥa bi-anna al-Masīḥ kalimat Allāh tajassadat wa-ṣārat insānan fa-hal yakūnu min al-bayān wa-al-sharḥ . . . akthar min hādḥā?" (*Risālah*, p. 66).

The implication of Muḥammad's teaching, therefore, according to the *Apology* (and especially its Latin version), is that Jesus is really God Incarnate. Though the author nowhere uses the words "Son of God," the step from "God Incarnate" to "Son of God" is quite small.

With boldness, the anonymous author of *Contrarietas alfolica* takes this small step. Indeed Charles Lohr, in his summary of the work's contents, says that chapter ten is a sustained attempt to show that the Qur'ān, if properly understood, portrays Jesus as the Son of God.⁷¹

A brief examination of the chapter's contents firmly supports this conclusion. The argument of the chapter is in two parts. The first is a comparison of the lives of Christ and Muḥammad as portrayed in the Qur'ān. The author first points out that Muḥammad for the first forty years of his life was an infidel who taught his people the worship of idols and even gave his daughter in marriage to two idolators.⁷² He then notes that the Qur'ān says that Christ was the Word of God incarnated in Mary. "Let us therefore compare Muḥammad," he continues, "whom you dare to prefer to all others," with Christ.⁷³ A long list of comparisons typical of such polemical works follows:⁷⁴ Muḥammad is descended from Ishmael, who was excluded from the promise made to Isaac, while Jesus, a descendent of Isaac, shares in that promise; no prophets or books give testimony to the coming of Muḥammad, but Christ's advent is manifested in "the proclamation of all the prophets" (*omnium praeconia prophetarum*); Muḥammad sinned, while Christ lived a perfect life; Muḥammad performed no miracles, while Christ gave sight to the blind, healed lepers, and gave life to the dead.⁷⁵ All this demonstrates, the author asserts, that Christ was not only a prophet but also the "Son of God"—*filius Dei*.⁷⁶

After this comparison of the two figures, a second more complicated and often obscure argument begins, in which the author examines two verses from the Qur'ān by which he attempts both to demonstrate the inconsistency of Muḥammad's teaching and to lay bare the truth that is nevertheless contained in this muddled doctrine. The first of these verses is a paraphrase of 4:169: "He is the word of God which he poured into Mary, and a Spirit

⁷¹ Lohr, "Ramon Lull, Liber Alquindi," 157.

⁷² *Contrarietas alfolica* 10, fols. 254v-255v.

⁷³ "Machometum igitur prophetam uestram, quem audetis praeferre cunctis, Christo dumtaxat uerbo tenus conferamus" (ibid., fol. 255v).

⁷⁴ See, for example, Daniel, *Islam and the West*, 172-73.

⁷⁵ Note that all three of these miracles are mentioned in the Qur'ān; see Suras 3:43 and 5:110. The whole text of this contrasting of Jesus' and Muḥammad's lives is found on fols. 255v-256v.

⁷⁶ "Christus caecos illuminauit, leprosos mundauit, mortuos suscitauit, ut non solum prophetam se esse: id est Dei filium demonstraret" (ibid., fol. 256r).

from him.”⁷⁷ If Muḥammad had taught only this, the author maintains, and added nothing else, the Trinity would have been verified among men. But Muḥammad emptied this of meaning when he also taught in verse 3:60 that “Jesus in the sight of God is just like Adam whom he created from clay, and said to him ‘Be’ and he was.”⁷⁸

In the first passage Muḥammad, according to the anonymous author, seems to want “Spirit” to be understood in a manner rather like the Christian understanding of the Holy Spirit, that is, the Spirit who is from God, who visited the Virgin Mary and caused her to conceive Jesus. It would seem necessary then, if Muḥammad insists that Jesus is the Word of God poured into Mary, and a Spirit from God, that this Spirit from God be understood to be essentially God, rather in the manner of the Christian doctrine of the Son of God, who is God from God and Spirit from Spirit.⁷⁹ The author would not exert such energy over this opinion of an infidel, he continues, were it not that “Christians could use this opinion against the Muslims to demonstrate the divinity of Christ.”⁸⁰ For the Word which proceeds from God, through whom he created all things, must be eternal and divine.⁸¹

But then Muḥammad taught in the second verse that Jesus is just like Adam—made by God from clay. How can it be, the author asks, that a Muslim can confess that God poured his Word and Spirit into Mary, thus incarnating Christ, and then assert at the same time that Jesus is just like Adam? By doing this he equates the Word and Spirit of God with clay. God is stripped of his divine Word and Spirit; he becomes a statue who neither sees nor breathes. The God of Christians, on the other hand, sees and knows all, and his Word is incarnate in Mary. Moreover, Jesus could not have been just like Adam, for if Adam had been the Word of God and his Spirit, he never would have been deceived by Satan. In truth this Word of God who became Jesus was the Word through whom Adam himself was created. This Word became visible to men and walked on the earth with the Spirit leading the way and working miracles. If Christ had not come in the flesh men could not have perceived the presence of Word and Spirit in him.⁸²

⁷⁷ “Uerbum Dei est quod infudit Mariae, et spiritus ab ipso” (ibid., fol. 256v).

⁷⁸ “Iesus est apud Deum sicut Adam quem creauit de limo, et dixit ei ‘esto’ et fuit” (ibid., fol. 256v).

⁷⁹ Ibid., fols. 256v-257r.

⁸⁰ “Christiani contra Sarracenos hoc utuntur uerbo ad demonstrandam Christi diuinitatem” (ibid., fol. 257r). The manuscript actually has “destruendam” but the sense requires “demonstrandam.”

⁸¹ Ibid., fol. 257r.

⁸² Ibid., fol. 257r-v.

The author concludes this slightly rambling investigation of these two Qur'ānic citations by asserting that they demonstrate that Jesus was, therefore, the one, perfect God, incarnate with two natures and two wills in one person. He was "the true Son of God"—*verus filius Dei*—coeternally proceeding from God just as heat from a fire, light from the sun, intellect from the soul, and lustre from a precious stone. If we worship him we can be certain of the Kingdom of God. We are not, the author observes finally, like the Muslims who say that the Word and Spirit of God are clay, and who say that God is Word and Spirit and then worship him as if he lacked this very Word and Spirit.⁸³

The conclusion to the second half of the chapter, therefore, is the same as the first: the evidence of the Qur'ān, confused and inconsistent as it is, nevertheless forces the reader to conclude that Jesus is the *verus filius Dei*. To worship God, who is a Word and Spirit, as verse 4:169 indicates, means that Jesus, who is the Word and Spirit incarnate in Mary, must be the Son of God.

In the light, therefore, of the *Apology*'s brief suggestion that Muḥammad demonstrated the Incarnation of Christ, and of *Contrarietas alfolica*'s lengthy arguments showing how the evidence of the Qur'ān similarly demonstrates that Jesus is the Son of God, it is possible to understand why Lull would make the unfounded statement that Muslims believe that Jesus is the Son and Spirit of God. In Lull's enthusiasm for the information and argument of these two treatises, he mistook their conclusions about what was implied in the Qur'ān for what actually was written there. The fact that later, in *Liber per quem* and *De participatione*, he no longer insisted that Muslims believe Jesus to be the *filius Dei et spiritus* but rather the *spiritus Dei* and *uerbum et spiritus Dei* suggests that he had realized his mistake. In any case, it is clear that Lull did not come up with the mistaken notion that Christ was thought to be the Son of God in Islam on his own. The *Apology of al-Kindī* and *Contrarietas alfolica* had already suggested it to him.

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All the elements of Lull's new statement of Islamic beliefs about Jesus, Mary, and the disciples can be traced to one or both of these Arab Christian polemics against Islam of which Lull spoke so highly in *De fine*. That Lull borrowed this information from the *Apology* and *Contrarietas alfolica* is significant in its own right; never before has it been possible to identify positively any written source of Lull's knowledge of the religion of the

⁸³ Ibid., fols. 257v-258r.

Prophet. But it is also important as a starting place for further inquiry. For having shown that Lull not only recommended these works in 1305 but also gleaned information from them, it is possible now to demonstrate their relation to Lull's other innovation of 1305, the unusual manner of argumentation used in *Liber praedicationis contra iudeos*, written only a few months later.

In August of that year Lull composed a collection of fifty-two sermons—or really sermon outlines, as their brevity suggests—which were to be preached to Jews, but also to Muslims and other unbelievers, as both their content and the work's epilogue indicate.⁸⁴ Lull had asked for and received permission from Jaume II to preach in synagogues in Aragon in 1299,⁸⁵ and he showed an abiding interest in preaching to infidels in Spain and elsewhere.⁸⁶ Given this interest in preaching to unbelievers, it is not surprising that Lull should compose such a collection.

Lull, however, has little to say about why he wrote the work. He is much clearer on how he composed it. He explains in the prologue that since Jews adhere to the law of Moses,

we intend to proceed in three ways in this book, namely, with authorities from the Old Law, and with *problemata*, and with commandments in proving that the Jews are in error.⁸⁷

The three methods listed here can be reduced to two: arguing by means of *problemata* or by means of Scripture, since “commandments” and “authorities from the Old Law” are just different parts of the Hebrew Scriptures. By *problemata*, which might best be translated here as “propositions” or perhaps “axioms,” Lull means basic philosophical assumptions which any learned man of his age would admit. A *problema* in sermon two is a good example: “God is the being which needs nothing outside itself.”⁸⁸ Another example is one used in sermon eight: “God is the perfect

⁸⁴ “Probauimus ergo, quod Iudaei et Saraceni sunt in errore per praedictos sermones. . . . Et data est doctrina, per quam christianus potest uere praedicare contra Iudaeos et Saracenos, et etiam contra philosophos, contradicentes legi christianae, arguendo eis cum problematibus” (Lull, *Liber praedicationis contra Iudaeos*, epilogue, ROL 12:78.570-76).

⁸⁵ Jeremy Cohen, *The Friars and the Jews: The Evolution of Medieval Anti-Judaism* (Ithaca, N. Y., 1982), 203; E. A. Peers, *Ramon Lull: A Biography* (London, 1929), 44-45.

⁸⁶ See, e.g., *Petitio Raymundi in concilio generali ad acquirendam Terram Sanctam* 8, ed. E. Longpré in *La France Franciscaine* 18 (1935): 153, where Lull suggests (in 1311) that the pope and cardinals arrange for Jews and Muslims in Christian lands to be preached to on Saturdays and Fridays respectively.

⁸⁷ “Intendimus procedere tribus modis in libro isto, scilicet cum auctoribus Veteris legis, et cum problematibus et cum praeceptis, probando, quod Iudaei sunt in errore” (*Liber praedicationis*, prologue, ROL 12:14.6-9).

⁸⁸ “Deus est ens, quod extra se non indiget aliquo” (*Liber praedicationis* 2, ROL 12:15.62).

origin. And all nations who believe in God concede this.”⁸⁹ Since Lull’s apologetic system was constructed in part on such widely accepted philosophical notions, it is not odd that such *problemata* play a prominent role in this work.

Whether Lull used Scripture or *problemata*, the method of argumentation is always the same. Each sermon is constructed around one authoritative statement, which is placed at the beginning, rather in the manner of the *thema* used in the thematic sermons so popular in his day. He then uses his normal apologetic method to show how Christianity best fulfills the stated authority in order to show that unbelievers are in error regarding it.⁹⁰

Sermon one, for example, is based on a verse of the “Old Law” (Psalm 109:3) which Lull states at the outset: “Before Lucifer was I begat you.”⁹¹ Because the verse says “Before Lucifer,” Lull writes, it necessarily follows that there was generation in God before the creation of the world, “because before Lucifer no being was created. Therefore generation was from eternity.”⁹² Eternal generation, however, implies an eternal generator, an eternal recipient of generation, and an eternal generating act, without which generation could not occur. It therefore follows that there is plurality and distinction in God, and that the necessary generator is God the Father, the recipient of generation is the Son, and the generating act is the Holy Spirit; this threefold plurality, moreover, must be understood to be spiritual and not corporeal, since corporeal generation is impossible in a wholly spiritual God. Since they do not believe in the Trinity, “it is concluded therefore,” Lull notes, “that the Jews are in error because they deny generation in God. By reason of this denial, they deny the above authority, namely, ‘Before Lucifer was I begat you.’”⁹³

Sermon eight, on the other hand, is an example of Lull’s use of *problemata*. For his authority he chooses the proposition “God is the perfect origin” and notes that all who believe in God believe this.⁹⁴ But a perfect origin requires three natural and essential properties, without which it would not

⁸⁹ “Deus est principium perfectum. Et hoc concedunt omnes nationes, in Deo credentes” (*Liber praedicationis* 8, ROL 12:24.355-56).

⁹⁰ *Liber praedicationis*, prologue, ROL 12:14.10-15.

⁹¹ “Dictum est in sacra pagina, in Psalterio (Ps 109, 3): *Ante luciferum genui te*” (*Liber praedicationis* 1, ROL 12:14.21-22).

⁹² “Quia ante luciferum nullum ens fuit creatum; ergo fuit generatio ab aeterno” (*Liber praedicationis* 1, ROL 12:14.25-26).

⁹³ “Concluditur ergo, quod Iudaei sunt in errore, eo quia negant in Deo generationem. Ratione cuius negationis negant praedictam auctoritatem, uidelicet *ante luciferum genui te*” (*Liber praedicationis* 1, ROL 12:15.49-52).

⁹⁴ “Deus est principium perfectum. Et hoc concedunt omnes nationes, in Deo credentes” (*Liber praedicationis* 8, ROL 12:24.355-56).

be perfect. First, within this perfect origin there must an eternal originating origin (*principium principians*). Second, there must be an eternal originated object which does not itself originate (*principiatum et non principians*), which corresponds to the originating origin, for without this second property the first would not be perfect. Third, within this perfect origin there must be an originated *and* originating origin (*principium principians et principiatum*). God the Father is the originating origin, God the Spirit is the originated but not originating origin, and God the Son is the originated and originating origin, and this because the Father begets the Son, and the Father and the Son—according to Latin Christians—both beget the Spirit,

and so all are equal in the perfect origin. . . . And they are three persons distinct through the three actions and passions mentioned above. . . . Nevertheless all three persons are one origin in common.⁹⁵

Since the Blessed Trinity is thus proved, Lull concludes, and the Jews and Muslims deny it, they also deny the above *problema*, and thus they stand in error and in the ire of God.⁹⁶

To anyone familiar with Lull's apologetic method which he called his *Art*, the method of argumentation used in these two examples—and in the other fifty sermons as well—is recognizably his. Lull was fond of saying that he hoped to argue not against, but by means of, whatever faith-unbelievers had.⁹⁷ Toward this end he fashioned a complex apologetic system through which "necessary reasons" could be generated by manipulating certain theological and philosophical principles accepted by all three Western religions. That God is One, that he has certain attributes such as goodness, greatness, and omnipotence, and that, as the Platonists originally taught, goodness is diffusive of itself—all these, and many more besides, were statements to which almost any learned Jew, Christian, or Muslim of the High Middle Ages would assent.⁹⁸ Using these principles, Lull attempted to show that Christianity was truer than its two great rivals, and thus hoped

⁹⁵ "Et sic omnes sunt aequales in principio perfecto. . . . Et sunt tres personae, distinctae per tres actiones et passiones supra dictas. . . . Tamen omnes tres personae sunt unum principium in communi" (*Liber praedicationis* 8, ROL 12:25.388-92).

⁹⁶ *Liber praedicationis* 8, ROL 12:25.402-11.

⁹⁷ As he explained in *Liber de convenientia fidei et intellectus in objecto*: "Et ideo ego, qui sum verus Catholicus, non intendo probare Articulos contra Fidem, sed mediante Fide" (MOG 4:572 [= int. 11, p. 2]); see E. Longpré, "Lulle, Raymond (Le Bienheureux)," *Dictionnaire de théologie catholique* 9.1 (Paris, 1926), cols. 1123-25.

⁹⁸ For brief discussions of this general worldview upon which Lull based his argumentation, see Anthony Bonner, *Selected Works of Ramon Lull (1232-1316)*, 2 vols. (Princeton, 1985), 1:58-61; and J. N. Hillgarth, *Ramon Lull and Lullism in Fourteenth-Century France* (Oxford, 1971), 13-14. A full-length study can be found in Robert Pring-Mill, *El microcosmos lul·lià* (Palma, 1961).

to encourage unbelievers to convert. There is no need to go into detail here regarding the exact form of these "necessary reasons" based on this shared faith, a topic which is treated thoroughly elsewhere.⁹⁹ Suffice it to say that Lull's "proof" in sermon one of the existence of an eternal generator, a generated object, and a generating act in the Godhead is a fine example of the outcome of his apologetic method, and especially of one of its most characteristic features in his later works, his famous triads of correlative principles.¹⁰⁰

In these essentials, then, the work is typically Lullian. Yet in one way the argumenation used in the *Liber praedicationis* is most untypical. For in addition to his desire to argue by means of unbelievers' faith, Lull had a second motive for developing his method of generating "necessary reasons": his profound belief that arguing with non-Christians by means of scriptural authorities, as most polemicists did, was sure to fail. Lull took this view for two reasons. First, he believed that one cannot argue in this way with those who do not recognize the authority of Scripture. "Infidels," he wrote just two years earlier, "cannot be compelled by the faithful into (the Catholic) faith by means of the authorities of Holy Scripture or the saints since they deny them and ask (the faithful) for reasons."¹⁰¹ Second, he believed that arguing on the basis of such authorities—even where it is possible, as for example with Jews—is to be avoided in favor of arguing on the basis of reason alone. He spelled out this preference at the beginning of his career in the *Libre de contemplació* when he insisted that arguing by means of scriptural authorities was only to be done with men of dense understanding who are only convinced by such authorities and by miracles of the saints. Men of subtle wit, however, should debate by means of natural, syllogistic reasons.¹⁰²

For these reasons Lull did not use scriptural authorities in his apologetic works until late in his life, when they appear for the first time here in *Liber praedicationis contra iudeos* peculiarly combined with his "necessary reasons." It is possible that he used authorities in these sermons of 1305 precisely because they are sermons, and medieval preaching manuals

⁹⁹ A concise discussion can be found in Bonner, *Selected Works* 1:58-70. For further bibliography, see *ibid.* 1:61 n. 41.

¹⁰⁰ Hillgarth, *Ramon Lull and Lullism*, 16-17.

¹⁰¹ "<Q>uoniam infideles per fideles ad fidem cogi non possunt per sacre scripture et sanctorum auctoritates, cum eas negent et eis petant rationes, ideo hunc librum facimus" (Lull, *Liber ad probandum aliquos articulos fidei catholicae per syllogisticas rationes*, prologue, Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek Clm. 10497, fol. 151ra, lines 1-5).

¹⁰² Lull, *Libre de contemplació* 187.10-11, ORL 5:172; two valuable discussions of this passage can be found in Cohen, *The Friars and the Jews*, 202-3; and Mark D. Johnston, *The Spiritual Logic of Ramon Lull* (Oxford, 1987), chap. 8, esp. pp. 134-37.

consistently prescribed that sermons should be constructed around one verse of Scripture—a *thema*—which, just like Lull's authorities, was always stated at the outset of the sermon.¹⁰³ But Lull's use of philosophical axioms as authorities—something expressly forbidden by preaching manuals¹⁰⁴—and his complete abandonment of the normal rules of preaching in his later sermons¹⁰⁵ make clear that Lull felt little obligation to adhere to the custom of the day.

The motive for his use of scriptural authorities in combination with his apologetic method must be searched for elsewhere, therefore, and the best place to look turns out to be *De fine*, the very work which first mentions the *Apology of al-Kindī* and *Contrarietas alfolica* and demonstrates their influence. For although Lull first used this combination of scriptural authorities and necessary reasons in *Liber praedicationis contra iudaeos*, he nevertheless described this approach concisely in *De fine* four months earlier. In distinction one, part three of that work, in which he discusses how one should debate with Jews, Lull suggests that Christian clerics who know Hebrew should

preach on Sundays in synagogues and even on Saturdays and dispute with Jews, even in their homes, *by collecting authorities from the Old Testament, in which the New Testament is prefigured; which authorities they should reduce to necessary reasons*, because authorities are not contrary to reason, when they are true. . . . And therefore it would be good that those learned men, thus diligent in Hebrew, *should collect and have many authorities, and apply these to necessary reasons* . . . (my italics).¹⁰⁶

This passage describes a method of disputation combining both scriptural authorities and necessary reasons through a process of “reducing” or “applying” Scripture to necessary reasons. Though Lull does not define it any further here, “applying” Scripture to necessary reasons is surely what Lull did a short time later in *Liber praedicationis contra iudaeos* using a complex method having at least three components. First, at the beginning of each sermon Lull cited an authority (most often scriptural) which served

¹⁰³ On the use of the *thema* in thematic sermons, see Th.-M. Charland, *Artes praedicandi: Contribution à l'histoire de la rhétorique au moyen âge* (Paris and Ottawa, 1936), 111-24.

¹⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, 113-15.

¹⁰⁵ See A. Soria Flores and F. Domínguez Reboiras in their introduction to Lull's sermon collection of 1312, which they call the *Summa sermonum* (ROL 15, pp. xlii, xlii-xlvii).

¹⁰⁶ “In diebus dominicis praedicarent in synagogis, et in diebus etiam sabbatinis, et cum Iudaeis et in eorum domibus disputarent, colligendo auctoritates Veteris testamenti, in quibus Testamentum nouum est figuratum, et quod illas auctoritates reducant ad necessarias rationes. Quoniam auctoritates non sunt contra rationem, ut sunt uerae. . . . Et ideo esset bonum, quod illi sapientes, in hebraico sic studentes, multas auctoritates colligerent et haberent, et ipsas ad rationes necessarias applicarent . . .” (*De fine* 1.3, ROL 9:259.264-73).

to focus his apologetic system on a specific question. Second, Lull used his apologetic system to examine the verse itself in order to unfold its Trinitarian or Incarnational significance. He thus examined the verse, "Before Lucifer was I generated you," by applying a triad of correlative principles to it and thus discovered that the verse implies a threefold plurality in God. Third, his very use of the scriptural citations in the above two ways allows him implicitly to claim scriptural confirmation for what his *Art* could have arrived at by itself, this confirmation adding considerable weight to those conclusions.

This complex interweaving of scriptural authorities and necessary reasons functioning on three levels was thus already in Lull's mind when he spoke of "applying" or "reducing scriptural authorities to necessary reasons" in *De fine*. Furthermore, it might be noted that there are other indications that Lull was already planning *Liber praedicationis* when he wrote *De fine*. In the course of the same short section of distinction one, he cites three Old Testament passages, two of which happen to be employed in *Liber praedicationis* as authorities (Gen 18:2-3; Ps 109:3).¹⁰⁷ This last verse—"Before Lucifer was I begat you"—is that used in sermon one of *Liber praedicationis*, and the citation of it in *De fine* is followed by a brief explication that outlines the main points used in the later sermon.¹⁰⁸

Those verses and this clear anticipation of sermon one of *Liber praedicationis*, combined with the telling recommendation of "reducing authorities to necessary reason," all strongly suggest that whatever inspired Lull to write *Liber praedicationis* in the way he did was already inspiring him four months earlier at the writing of *De fine*. Since his preoccupation with the *Apology of al-Kindī* and *Contrarietas alfolica* at the time of *De fine* has already been demonstrated, there is good reason to suspect the influence of these works here as well, even though both works are directed at Islam, while *Liber praedicationis* is aimed primarily at Jews.

The attempts observed above of both the *Apology* and *Contrarietas alfolica* to prove that certain authoritative statements of Muḥammad himself, when understood properly, demonstrate that Christ was the incarnate Word and Son of God make this suspicion grow stronger. For by attempting to show that the Christian mysteries are given credence by the very Scriptures of Islam, the authors of these two works were doing exactly what Lull

¹⁰⁷ *De fine* 1.3, ROL 9:258.251-53; *Liber praedicationis* 1 and 4, ROL 12:14.21-22 and p. 18.147.

¹⁰⁸ As he says: "Quidquid est ante luciferum, est ab aeterno. Et ideo generans et genitum et generare sunt in diuina aeternitate res aeternae et distinctae, quoniam generans se ipsum generare non potest" (*De fine* 1.3, ROL 9:258.254-256). See the discussion of sermon one on p. 215 above.

did in *Liber praedicationis*: disputing not against the unbeliever's faith, but by means of it, using the unbeliever's own scriptural authorities as the starting point and focus of the discussion, and applying reason to them. If the Qur'ān says that Jesus is the Word and Spirit of God, the author of *Contrarietas alfolica* contended, then this spirit must be understood to be essentially God, and this word the eternal Word through whom God created all things. What can this mean except that Jesus is, therefore, the *verus filius Dei* coeternally proceeding from the Father?¹⁰⁹

This growing suspicion that the two Arab Christian works convinced Lull to include scriptural authorities in his apologetic writing becomes a certainty, however, when a further section of the *Apology* is examined. For though the previous passages show clear similarities to Lull's application of scriptural authorities to necessary reasons in *Liber praedicationis*, the clearest parallels to Lull's approach are in the *Apology*'s long defense of the Trinity, which comes near the beginning of al-Kindī's response. This discussion begins with a lengthy attack on the Muslim claim, which al-Hāshimī had reiterated,¹¹⁰ that Muslims were the true followers of Abraham, who was a perfect Muslim.¹¹¹ Changing course suddenly, the *Apology*'s author then undertakes a fairly detailed examination of the meaning of "one" when it is applied to God. In the course of this inquiry he concludes that the Christian doctrine of the Trinity both upholds the oneness of God and, at least in part, is made necessary by God's very nature. This philosophical examination of the Trinity is then followed by the explication of a series of Old Testament verses which mysteriously disclose God's Trinitarian nature. From this brief outline alone it is possible to see a certain affinity between this Trinitarian defense and *Liber praedicationis*. Closer examination shows how deep this affinity runs.

Though the first part of the *Apology*'s defense of the Trinity focuses largely on the history of monotheism among the Jews, and so is not immediately pertinent here, one digression of the author should be noted. While discussing Moses' role in the tradition of monotheism, the author points out how at least one incident in Moses' life prophetically confirmed the Christian doctrine of the Trinity. When Moses asked God (Ex 3:13-15) what he should tell his people if they asked what God's name was, God responded, "Say to the sons of Israel, 'Yahweh the God of your fathers, the God of Abraham,

¹⁰⁹ See pp. 210-13 above.

¹¹⁰ *Risālah*, p. 4 (cf. Sura 2:129); this passage is part of the first few paragraphs of the *Epistola saraceni* which are missing from Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal lat. 1162 because folio 139 has been lost (see d'Alverny, "Deux traductions," 109); but other manuscripts have the passage; see Muñoz, 378.21-22.

¹¹¹ *Risālah*, pp. 41-48; *Rescriptum christiani*, fol. 146va, line 8-fol. 147va, line 13, Muñoz, 393.10-395.17.

the God of Isaac, and the God of Jacob sent me to you.'"¹¹² In this curious threefold repetition of God's name, the author insists, the Trinity is mysteriously described.¹¹³

This brief digression sets the stage for the next portion of al-Kindī's argument, which begins a few pages later. Having shown that Abraham was not a Muslim, the Christian then asks his Muslim friend what, after all, he means by saying that "God is one." God can only be called "one" in three ways: either he is one in genus, one in species, or one in number.¹¹⁴ If you say he is one in genus, then he becomes a "one embracing several species."¹¹⁵ If you say one in species, he becomes a "species embracing diverse hypostases."¹¹⁶ If you say one in number you contradict the Qur'ānic contention that God is "one, solitary, everlasting thing,"¹¹⁷ that is, one individual, uncountable thing. Indeed you yourself, the author points out to his Muslim friend, cannot say that you are one solitary thing;¹¹⁸ how can you accept as an attribute of God a description which makes him less exalted than one of his creatures? He cannot then be one in number because the "perfect number is that which embraces all the species of number,"¹¹⁹ and a singular thing cannot do this.

Of these three alternatives the only reasonable possibility is that he is one in species. But if you say he is one in species, the Christian continues, "then the species has several essences which are not one, solitary thing."¹²⁰

¹¹² "Taqūlu li-banī Isrā'īl, Yahwah ilāh ābā'ikum ilāh Ibrahīm wa-ilāh Ishāq wa-ilāh Ya'qūb arsalanī ilay-kum" (*Risālah*, p. 45); cf. the Latin: "Deus patrum uestrorum, Deus Abraham, Deus Isaac, Deus Iacob misit me ad uos" (*Rescriptum christiani*, fol. 146vb, line 33-fol. 147ra, line 1, Muñoz, 394.5-6).

¹¹³ As he explains at length: *Risālah*, p. 45-46; *Rescriptum christiani*, fol. 147ra, lines 1-31, Muñoz, 394.10-28.

¹¹⁴ "Al-wāḥid lā yuqālu wāḥidan illā 'alā thalāthat awjuh immā fī al-jins wa-immā fī al-naw' wa-immā fī al-'adad" (*Risālah*, p. 48); "Non potest dici nisi tribus modis unum unum; hoc est aut genere, aut spetie, aut numero" (*Rescriptum christiani*, fol. 147va, lines 21-23, Muñoz, 395.23-24).

¹¹⁵ "Šāra wāḥidan 'āmma li-anwā' shattā" (*Risālah*, p. 49); "erit unum complectens diversas speties" (*Rescriptum christiani*, fol. 147vb, lines 2-3, Muñoz, 395.33).

¹¹⁶ "Šāra dhālika naw'an 'āmma li-aqānīm shattā" (*Risālah*, 49); cf. the Latin: "Speties similiter habet diuersas res sub se" (*Rescriptum christiani*, fol. 147vb, lines 6-7, Muñoz, 395.35-36).

¹¹⁷ "Kāna dhālika naqqad li-kalāmika anna-hu wāḥid fard samad" (*Risālah*, p. 49); "eris contrarius tuis uerbis, quibus dicis eum unum singularem et solidum" (*Rescriptum christiani*, fol. 147vb, lines 8-9, Muñoz, 395.37-38); cf. Sūrah 112:1-2.

¹¹⁸ The implication is that a human body is made up of many parts and so is not simply one thing.

¹¹⁹ "Kamāl al-'adad mā 'amma jamī' anwā' al-adad" (*Risālah*, p. 50); "Perfectio enim numeri est quae complectitur omnes speties numeri" (*Rescriptum christiani*, fol. 147vb, lines 20-21, Muñoz, 396.3-4).

¹²⁰ "Fa-lil-naw' dhawāt shattā lā wāḥid fard" (*Risālah*, p. 50); cf. the Latin: "speties habet diuersas res sub se" (*Rescriptum christiani*, fol. 147vb, lines 24-25, Muñoz, 395.6).

Now if you say that these essences are one in substance (*jawhar, substantia*), do you then assert that they are also one in number? If you do this then we remind you that the definition of one in species "is a name embracing several solitary things,"¹²¹ while something which is one in number includes only itself. If you say that he is one in species and one in number, then you are really just saying that he is one in number, which we already demonstrated is not correct. Now it might be asked whether he can be one in number partly and not in full. We respond that "we define him as a perfect one in substance, threefold in number, that is, in three hypostases."¹²² He is therefore perfect in both ways: in substance he is one, pure, spiritual, and incorporeal; but since he is three in number he embraces all the species of number, because three is made up of one and two, that is, an odd number and an even, and thus all numbers are implicated in it.¹²³

This conclusion completes the first half of the *Apology's* philosophical examination of the Godhead. The second half begins, after some minor digressions, when the author asserts that Christians do not believe that God has a wife or adopted a son in a corporeal sense as Muslims allege.¹²⁴ Rather Christians believe that his Son is the eternal Word through whom he created all things.¹²⁵ This statement prompts the author to take up the question of predication. We all say, he notes, implying both Christians and Muslims, that God is clement and merciful and a ruler, and so forth, because of what we see of his actions in creation. But regarding the attributes of his essence, we say he is a substance having an eternal Word and Spirit, that is, wisdom and life.¹²⁶ The author then examines how these two attributes—wisdom and life—relate to God's essence. He notes that there are two kinds of names (*ṣifāt, nomina*). The first are "independent, commonly accepted names" (*asmā' mufradah mursalah*) which the Latin version translates as *nomina substantiva*. These names are like "earth," "sky," "fire," or "water," which cannot be used to refer to anything else.¹²⁷ The second

¹²¹ "Ism ya'ummu afrādan shattā" (*Risālah*, p. 50); "nomen complectans diuersos numeros" (*Rescriptum christiani*, fol. 147vb, lines 32-33, Muñoz, 396.12).

¹²² "Naṣifuhu wāḥidan kāmilan fī al-jawhar muthallathan fī al-'adad ay fī al-aqānīm al-thalāthah" (*Risālah*, p. 51); the Latin version is a paraphrase: "nos predicamus eum unum perfectum in substantia, non in numero, eo quod est in numero scilicet personis trinus" (*Rescriptum christiani*, fol. 148ra, lines 12-14, Muñoz, 396.21-22).

¹²³ *Risālah*, p. 51-52; *Rescriptum christiani*, fol. 148ra, lines 15-28, Muñoz, 396.24-32.

¹²⁴ *Risālah*, p. 53; *Rescriptum christiani* fol. 148rb, lines 12 ff., Muñoz, 397.3 ff.

¹²⁵ *Risālah*, p. 54 (the text is corrupt here); cf. *Rescriptum christiani*, fol. 148va, lines 1-3, Muñoz, 397.17-18.

¹²⁶ *Risālah*, p. 54; *Rescriptum christiani*, fol. 148va, lines 5-11, Muñoz, 397.20-24.

¹²⁷ *Risālah*, p. 54-55; *Rescriptum christiani*, fol. 148va, lines 11-16, Muñoz, 397.24-27.

kind are “adjoined” or “relative names” (*asmā’ muḍāfah, nomina relativa*). These are names connected to something other than just the thing they name, for example “knower” and “knowledge” and “wisdom” and “wise man.” “For the knower is a knower by means of his knowledge, and the knowledge is knowledge of a knower, and wisdom is the wisdom of a wise man.”¹²⁸ Wisdom and life, the author implies, are of this second, relative type. This leads to a further question: are these relative attributes “intrinsic in God’s essence eternally, or does he acquire them” at some time? or, as the Latin paraphrases it, are such attributes “predicated substantially or accidentally?”¹²⁹ For it is possible to say, for example, that God was not always a creator because there was a time before he chose to create when he had not created; thus the attribute “creator” was acquired by him and is not eternal. But this cannot be said about wisdom and life. One cannot say that “he existed and had no life and no knowledge and no wisdom until life and knowledge and wisdom came to be existent in his presence,”¹³⁰ for it is absurd that God should be even for a moment without these attributes. After returning briefly to consider more carefully how God existed before he created,¹³¹ the author then concludes that God has many acquired attributes of this kind, such as “merciful” and “much-forgiving,” but as for those essential attributes which eternally describe God, they are two: living and knowing.¹³² Since his knowledge and life are just other names for his Word and Spirit, the outcome of this inquiry is that

God is one, possessing a word and spirit in three hypostases existing in their essence which the one substance of divinity embraces; and this is the description of the One, which is threefold in hypostases, which we worship.¹³³

¹²⁸ “Fa-al-‘ālim ‘ālim bi-‘ilmīhi wa-al-‘ilm ‘ilm ‘ālim wa-al-ḥikmah ḥikmat ḥakīm” (*Risālah*, p. 55); the Latin version expands this slightly: “Sciens enim scientia sciens est, et scientia non est nisi scientis, et sapientia sapientis est, et sapiens non nisi sapientia sapiens est” (*Rescriptum christiani*, fol. 148va, lines 18-20, Muñoz, 397.29-30).

¹²⁹ “A-lāzimah hiya li-jawharihi fī azaliyatihi immā iktasabahā la-hu iktisāban?” (*Risālah*, p. 55); cf. the Latin version: “Ergo uidendum est, quando sapientia uel uita de Deo predicantur, si substantialiter an accidentaliter predicantur?” (*Rescriptum christiani*, fol. 148va, lines 21-23, Muñoz, 397.30-32).

¹³⁰ “Kāna wa-lā ḥayāh la-hu wa-lā ‘ilm wa-lā ḥikmah ḥattā šārat al-ḥayāh wa-al-‘ilm wa-al-ḥikmah laday-hi mawjūdatan” (*Risālah*, p. 55); the Latin is a paraphrase: “dici etiam potest fuisse aliquando sine sapientia et uita?” (*Rescriptum*, fol. 148va, lines 28-29, Muñoz, 397.36).

¹³¹ *Risālah*, p. 56 (the text is once again corrupt); *Rescriptum christiani*, fol. 148va, line 30-fol. 148vb, line 9, Muñoz, 397.37-398.3.

¹³² *Risālah*, pp. 56-57; *Rescriptum christiani*, fol. 148vb, lines 9-16, Muñoz, 398.4-9.

¹³³ “Allāh wāḥid dhū kalimah wa-ruḥ fī thalāthat aqānīm qā’imah bi-dhātihā ya’ummuhā jawhar al-lāhūt al-wāḥid fa-hādhihi hiya šifat al-wāḥid al-muthallath al-aqānīm alladhī na’buduhu” (*Risālah*, p. 57); “Deus unus habens uerbum et spiritum tribus personis per se existentibus constat, quas complectitur una substantia diuinitatis. Deum itaque colimus

This second philosophical inquiry into the nature of God is then followed by a series of Old Testament verses which corroborate these findings and which are listed in rapid succession, interspersed with comment. The first verse of Genesis mysteriously reads, "In the beginning the Gods created the heavens and the earth," the Arab author here translating literally the Hebrew *Elohim* with the Arabic *al-ālihah*, both of which mean "the Gods."¹³⁴ When the verse says "the Gods" it refers to the threefold nature of God, but when it says "created" in the singular (*bara'a*) it points to their oneness in substance.¹³⁵ Later in Genesis God says, "Let us make man in our image" (Gen 1:26), and then, "Behold, Adam is made just as one of us" (Gen 3:22). He did not say "in my image" or "like me." Similarly, in Genesis 11:7 he said, "Come let us descend and confuse their language." He did not say, "I will descend."¹³⁶ These verses also mysteriously indicate the threefold nature of God.

Likewise Moses glimpsed the mystery of the Trinity, as noted above,¹³⁷ and even your master (*ṣāhibuka*, *tuus socius*)¹³⁸ Muḥammad hinted at the Trinity when he said on the one hand that God is one eternal thing, and then he contradicted this by saying that Christ is his word and spirit.¹³⁹ The Book of Daniel obscurely revealed the Trinity when it records God saying, "We say to you Nebuchadnezzar . . ." (cf. Dan 4:28); he did not say, "I say."¹⁴⁰ The Qur'ān, like Moses and Daniel, also frequently portrays God speaking in the plural, saying for example, "we know," and "we create," and "we command," as the author explains at length.¹⁴¹ Abraham also glimpsed the Trinity when he had a vision of God in the form of three men whom he worshipped as one (Gen 18:2-3).¹⁴² The threefold invocation

unum in substantia trinum in personis" (*Rescriptum christiani*, fol. 148vb, lines 17-20, Muñoz, 398.10-13).

¹³⁴ "Fī al-bad' al-ālihah bara'a al-samāwāt wa-al-arḍ" (*Risālah*, p. 57); this verse is left out of the Latin version, very likely because the translator, who probably did not know Hebrew, did not understand the original author's intent in using it.

¹³⁵ *Risālah*, pp. 57-58.

¹³⁶ *Risālah*, pp. 58-59; *Rescriptum christiani*, fol. 148vb, lines 22-33, Muñoz, 398.15-21.

¹³⁷ See pp. 220-21 above.

¹³⁸ The translator of the *Apology* habitually translates the Arabic *ṣāhib*, which means (among many other things) both "master" or "lord" and "associate" or "follower," depending on its context, by means of *socius*, which conveys only the latter meanings. It is clearly not appropriate when used in connection with Muḥammad, as it is here. *Dominus* might have been preferred.

¹³⁹ As noted in n. 67 above.

¹⁴⁰ *Risālah*, p. 60; *Rescriptum christiani*, fol. 149ra, lines 14-16, Muñoz, 398.32-33.

¹⁴¹ "Wa-fī kitābika ayḍan shabīh bi-ma dhakarnā . . . 'an Allāh . . . fa'alnā wa-khalaqnā wa-amarnā . . ." (*Risālah*, pp. 60-61). This observation and the author's page-long defense of it were left out of the Latin version.

¹⁴² *Risālah*, pp. 61-62; *Rescriptum christiani*, fol. 149ra, lines 20-29, Muñoz, 398.36-42.

of the Lord in the Shema—"Hear, O Israel, the Lord your God is one God"—reveals the same mystery.¹⁴³ So also do the Psalms of David, in which he proclaims that God created the heavens with his word, and all its hosts by the spirit of his mouth (Ps 33:6),¹⁴⁴ in which he praises the word of God (Ps 56:4),¹⁴⁵ and in which he prays to him with a threefold repetition of his name (Ps 68:19-20).¹⁴⁶ Finally, Isaiah disclosed the triune nature of God when he recounted that the Lord and his Spirit had sent him (Is 48:16),¹⁴⁷ and in his magnificent vision of the Seraphim next to the throne of God reciting the threefold *Sanctus*: "Holy, Holy, Holy Lord, God of hosts, heaven and earth are full of his glory" (Is 6:3).¹⁴⁸

In *De fine* Lull suggested that Jews could be successfully debated if learned Christians would collect verses of the Old Testament that prefigure the New and "apply these to necessary reasons."¹⁴⁹ Lull then went on to do just this in *Liber praedicationis*, mixing these authoritative passages of Scripture with a method of argument designed to "prove" the Christian mysteries by reason alone. But it is also quite clear that the Arab author of the *Apology* had done the same thing several centuries earlier. The *Apology's* defense of the Trinity involves an interweaving of scriptural authority and necessary reasons which includes all the features of Lull's method in *Liber praedicationis*.

Like Lull, the Arab author uses Scripture itself to introduce the question to be considered; though rather than one verse alone, he uses a series of passages from the Hebrew Scriptures which provide the history of monotheism among the Jews. His consideration of these passages serves to focus the inquiry on a specific question, which he explicitly asks: "What do you mean when you say that God is one?" He then examines the oneness of God by means of two arguments which demonstrate the Trinity by necessary reasons based on philosophical and theological principles held by both Muslims and Christians. First he analyzes God's oneness by applying the categories of genus, species, and number, thereby demonstrating that God must be one in species but three in number. In the second argument he explores a question absolutely central to Lull's own apologetic approach: the attributes of God. Since both Christianity and Islamic tradition teach that God somehow has a Word and a Spirit, the author argues that these

¹⁴³ *Risālah*, p. 62; *Rescriptum christiani*, fol. 149ra, lines 29-30, Muñoz, 398.42-399.1.

¹⁴⁴ *Risālah*, p. 62; *Rescriptum christiani*, fol. 149ra, lines 31-33, Muñoz, 399.1-3.

¹⁴⁵ "Li-kalimah Allāh usabbihū" (*Risālah*, p. 62); this citation is not included in the Latin version.

¹⁴⁶ *Risālah*, p. 62; *Rescriptum christiani*, fol. 149rb, lines 2-3, Muñoz, 399.3-6.

¹⁴⁷ *Risālah*, p. 63; *Rescriptum christiani*, fol. 149rb, lines 4-6, Muñoz, 399.6-7.

¹⁴⁸ *Risālah*, p. 64; *Rescriptum christiani*, fol. 149rb, lines 20-21, Muñoz, 399.17-18.

¹⁴⁹ See n. 106 above.

are just other names for God's knowledge and life, which are two among many attributes commonly assigned to him. Since knowledge and life must exist eternally in God, unlike his other attributes, God eternally has a Word and Spirit, and so three persons necessarily exist in the one substance of God. Finally, having examined the oneness of God proclaimed by Scripture and having thereby shown the necessity of that oneness containing a three-fold plurality, the anonymous author then sets forth his list of Old Testament passages that prefigure the New, just as Lull would later suggest, and shows how they corroborate his conclusions regarding the Trinity.

Though the format is slightly different, all the elements involved in Lull's application of scripture to necessary reasons are present, therefore, in the *Apology*. Given Lull's demonstrated use of that work in *De fine* just four months earlier, it is reasonable to conclude that it, along with *Contrarietas alfolica*, is the source of his new hybrid method of argumentation. Here is the origin of Lull's innovation of 1305. Here, surely, is where he learned that one could "apply" Old Testament verses to necessary reasons, and do so to clear advantage.

*
* * *

The two kinds of influence discussed thus far can be found in Lull's polemical and crusading works up through 1313. The new statement of Islamic beliefs about Jesus, Mary, and the disciples, which appears first in *De fine*, can be found, as I have indicated,¹⁵⁰ in *De acquisitione terrae sanctae* in 1309 and in *Liber per quem poterit cognosci quae lex sit magis bona, magis magna et etiam magis vera* in 1313. The novel "application" of Scripture to necessary reasons, which Lull first described in *De fine* and first employed in *Liber praedicationis contra iudaeos*, is employed once more in *De participatione christianorum et saracenorum* in 1312. Here Lull actually combines both levels of influence in one work, for in this treatise the Great Majorcan hopes to convince Muslims of the truth of the Catholic faith by setting his apologetic *Art* to work on two "authorities" of Muḥammad: the first is the famous Qur'ānic verses "God does not beget, is not begotten, nor does he have any equal" (112:2-4), and the second is the common Islamic, but not actually Qur'ānic, description of Jesus as the Word and Spirit of God found in Lull's crusading works.¹⁵¹ These two scriptural authorities of Muḥammad are partially true, Lull asserts, and if his *Art* is applied to them they can be used to bring Christians and Muslims

¹⁵⁰ See nn. 21 and 22 above.

¹⁵¹ Lull, *De participatione*, prologue and dist. 1, ROL 16:246-47.30-68.

into agreement about God and Christ so that they can live in peace.¹⁵² The bulk of the work, therefore, is given over to constructing Lullian syllogisms which purport to demonstrate the Trinity and Incarnation on the basis of the two Muḥammadan authorities.¹⁵³ For this work, then, Lull borrowed both information and method from the two Arab Christian works of which he was so fond.

In this eight-year process of distilling information and method from the *Apology of al-Kindī* and *Contrarietas alfolica* Lull reveals two key characteristics of how he engaged Islamic civilization and incorporated information from and about it into his own highly systematized thought. First, the importance of the Arab Christian authorship of these two works cannot be overlooked. As an accomplished Arabist who was heavily influenced by Arab philosophy,¹⁵⁴ Lull could have learned about Islamic views of Jesus and Mary from countless Islamic sources available to him in Arabic. But he chose to rely on Christian texts. That he should do so conforms with Norman Daniel's judgment that medieval European Christians tended to believe only what other Christians said about Islam, spurning Muslims themselves as sources of information, since they were somehow fundamentally unreliable.¹⁵⁵ Lull, of course, exercised clear discernment in choosing which Christian sources he relied on, borrowing only from those Christians who presumably would know Islam best, but they were still Christian authors, and in this he is not essentially different from his fellow Europeans who could not bring themselves to heed what Muslims themselves said about their faith. It is clear, moreover, that Lull showed this same tendency in at least one of his earlier works. When Lull describes in *Doctrina pueril* how Muḥammad learned the Christian Scriptures from a renegade Christian monk named Nicholas, he is relying on a most uninformed Latin Christian version of the Bāḥirā-Sergius legend.¹⁵⁶

But if Lull's reliance in these years on the *Apology* and *Contrarietas alfolica* demonstrates a limitation in his approach to Islam—a limitation he shared with all his European contemporaries, it also makes clear a second important characteristic: Lull's remarkable ability to adapt received ideas to his system of thought and vice versa. Many other Europeans borrowed from these two Arab Christian works. But unlike such contemporaries as Ricoldo da Montecroce or Vincent of Beauvais, who simply lifted large

¹⁵² Lull, *De participatione* 1, ROL 16:247-48.69-72.

¹⁵³ Lull, *De participatione* 2, 3, ROL 16:248-60.

¹⁵⁴ Charles Lohr has conclusively demonstrated this. See his "Christianus arabicus, cuius nomen Raimundus Lullus," 86-88.

¹⁵⁵ Daniel, *Islam and the West*, 248-49, 259.

¹⁵⁶ *Doctrina pueril* 71.4, ed. Schib, 163; see Daniel, *Islam and the West*, 83-89.

passages from them almost *verbatim*,¹⁵⁷ Lull only used information from them after filtering it through his own energetic mind and fitting it into his own apologetic system. He found the various parts of his statement about the Islamic view of the Holy Family and disciples piecemeal in the two Arab Christian works; it was his idea to combine them into a summary of Islamic doctrines. He discovered from the same works that scriptural authorities could indeed be used convincingly in polemical works if they were combined with rational arguments; it was his idea to use his powerful *Art* to generate his own arguments, in the process adapting the *Art* fundamentally. In all this the vast energy and creativity of Lull, even as a man already in his seventies, radiate brightly.

For these reasons the eight years of influence by the *Apology* and *Contrarietas alfolica* also illuminate the great, consistent theme of Lull's manifold efforts to convert unbelievers. For while it was a striking departure to incorporate scriptural authorities into his apologetic *Art*, such an innovation was, nevertheless, essentially in conformity with Lull's often-expressed desire to convert non-Christians only "by means of" whatever faith they might have.¹⁵⁸ The departures inspired by those two Arab Christian works between 1305 and 1313 were only new methods of arguing *mediante fide*.

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¹⁵⁷ For Ricoldo's use of the *Contrarietas*, see Enrico Cerulli, *Il "Libro della scala" e la questione delle fonti arabo-spagnole della Divina Commedia*, Studi e testi 150 (Vatican, 1949), 346-54; on Vincent's use of the *Apology*, see Daniel, *Islam and the West*, 6 and 231.

¹⁵⁸ See n. 97 above.

ECCLESIASTICAL COURTS IN FIFTEENTH-CENTURY FLORENCE AND FIESOLE

Gene A. Brucker

The history of diocesan courts in late medieval and Renaissance Italy, and indeed in continental Europe, has been a much neglected subject.¹ In his synthesis of the fifteenth-century Italian church,² Denys Hay does not mention this important topic, nor is it discussed in any detail in recent studies of dioceses by Bizzocchi (Tuscany) and Pesce (Treviso).³ Current scholarship on the Italian Renaissance church has focused on the relationship between religious institutions and practices and their social contexts. The history of "popular religion" in its various manifestations (including heresy) has attracted the attention of a new generation of scholars, as has too the study of parishes, confraternities, hospitals, and convents. Ecclesiastical courts constituted one of the most important nodes in the nexus of relationships between clergy and laity, and for that reason alone, they deserve more attention than they have hitherto received from scholars.

Denys Hay cited the skimpiness and inaccessibility of documentation as a major obstacle to the study of Italian church history outside of Rome, and this situation has certainly contributed to the lack of sustained research on diocesan courts.⁴ If a comprehensive census of Italy's ecclesiastical archives for the pre-Tridentine period were to be implemented, it would

¹ My perusal of the bibliography in the *Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique* for the past decade produced no references to scholarship on church courts, except in England. Recent important contributions to our knowledge of English church courts include Ronald A. Marchant, *The Church Under the Law: Justice, Administration and Discipline in the Diocese of York, 1560-1640* (Cambridge, 1969); Ralph Houlbrooke, *Church Courts and the People During the English Reformation, 1520-1570* (Oxford, 1979); and Martin Ingram, *Church Courts, Sex and Marriage in England, 1570-1640* (Cambridge, 1987).

² Denys Hay, *The Church in Italy in the Fifteenth Century* (Cambridge, 1977).

³ Roberto Bizzocchi, *Chiesa e potere nella Toscana del Quattrocento* (Bologna, 1987), chap. 6, considers only jurisdictional disputes between clergy and laity and does not examine the broader functions of the courts. Luigi Pesce, *La chiesa di Treviso nel primo Quattrocento*, 3 vols. (Rome, 1987) does not discuss diocesan tribunals.

⁴ Hay, *The Church in Italy*, 4-5. On the comparative study of the pre-Tridentine diocese in Italy and northern Europe, see David Peterson, "Archbishop Antoninus: Florence and the Church in the Early Fifteenth Century" (Diss., Cornell University, 1985), 7-8.

surely reveal that very few series of church court records have survived. The records must be sought instead in state and municipal archives, and particularly in notarial records. The documentation for this study of Tuscan diocesan courts was found in the protocols of Florentine notaries who copied the proceedings of these courts in their books, as required by communal statute. The *atti* of some thirty ecclesiastical notaries have survived for the fifteenth century, and these contain hundreds of judgments rendered by the vicars general, who presided over these courts. These scattered and fragmentary documents do provide information concerning court procedure, the types of cases submitted to these tribunals, and their resolution. Of particular value are the *atti* of three notaries (Ser Paolo Benivieni, Ser Stefano Orlandi, and Ser Alessandro Borsi), whose protocols contain a chronological record of court activities, spanning months and even years.⁵ While not sufficiently comprehensive to permit statistical analysis, these *seriatim* records do reveal the nature of these cases, the scope of the court's jurisdiction, and the social composition of its clientele.

THE SETTING

This was a typical scene in the great hall (*sala magna*) of the archbishop's palace, where the public proceedings of the court were normally held. Seated at the "bench of justice" was the vicar general,⁶ who was the presiding judge of the court, save on those rare occasions when the archbishop himself participated in a case.⁷ One or more of the *notai di banco*,⁸ the notaries employed by the archiepiscopal curia, were seated near the vicar general, to bring up the cases on the day's docket, to record the proceedings, to receive documents submitted by the litigants, and to copy and despatch the court's instructions to plaintiffs, defendants, their procurators, and

⁵ Ser Paolo Benivieni's protocols contain court records for 1435-36 and 1447-49 (Archivio di Stato di Firenze, Notarile antecosimiano [hereafter NA] B 1322 [1435-48] and B 1324 [1447-56]). Ser Piero Orlandi's record includes a rare item, a book recording all excommunications imposed by the court (NA O 42 [1467], no pagination) for the years 1489-1500, and a *liber causarum* for the years 1496-99 (O 46 [1496-99], busta 2). Unless otherwise indicated, all archival citations in this article refer to sources in the Archivio di Stato di Firenze.

⁶ "Supradictus dominus vicarius ut supra sedens ad eius solitum bancum iuris ut moris est" (NA B 1322 [1435-48], part 2, fol. 2r, 19 Nov. 1435).

⁷ Archbishop Antoninus participated actively in the litigation over the alleged marriage of Giovanni della Casa and Lusanna di Maestro Benedetto di Girolamo; see Gene A. Brucker, *Giovanni and Lusanna: Love and Marriage in Renaissance Florence* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1986), 39, 44, 45-49, 72.

⁸ Eight *notai di banco* are identified in a notarial act of 16 March 1446; see Stefano Orlandi, *S. Antonino: Studi bibliografici*, 2 vols. (Florence, 1960), 2:183-84, 305-6.

witnesses. The court's officials present at these sessions included the guards and ushers who maintained order and the messengers (*numptii*) who delivered the citations and decrees, including notices of excommunication, issued by the vicar general. In the courtroom, too, were procurators and lawyers representing their clients, together with their friends and supporters. When court decisions of particular significance or notoriety were rendered, a large crowd of Florentines, both cleric and lay, would assemble in the hall to witness these dramatic events.⁹

The vicar general was the key figure in the operation of these courts: he was usually a native of a northern Italian city from a prominent lineage, and a university scholar trained in canon law.¹⁰ The importance of the notaries in the administration of ecclesiastical justice can be appreciated from the voluminous written record which they have bequeathed, and from the fact that so many of these *notai di banco* served the court for decades. The unsung heroes of the system, without whose services it could not have functioned, were the messengers. The record of court proceedings reveal their intimate involvement in the cases before the curia. "Francesco di Biagio, a sworn messenger of this court, informed Messer Tommaso della Bordella, the vicar general . . . and myself, the notary of this court, that today on the instruction of the vicar general, . . . he cited Priest Piero di Martino to appear before the vicar general this morning at the third hour to give reasons why he should not be excommunicated for contumacy . . . and to Priest Piero he gave a copy of the citation. . . ."¹¹ Since these messengers, like their counterparts in the secular courts, were often the bearers of bad news, they were occasionally maltreated by those whom they cited. When a Montelupo artisan, Andrea di Ciano, received an order to appear in the archbishop's court, he assaulted the messenger, Antonio di Bartolomeo, "with much effusion of blood."¹² These messengers were despatched to deliver the court's orders throughout the archdiocese, comprising the bishoprics of Fiesole, Prato, and Pistoia, as well as Florence.

The archiepiscopal court functioned throughout the year, except on Sundays and major church holidays. The court did not cease operations

⁹ The reading of the court's decision on the marriage case of Giovanni and Lusanna was witnessed by an audience "clericis et laicis in multitudine copiosa"; see Brucker, *Giovanni and Lusanna*, 63.

¹⁰ For a profile of vicars general in Tuscan dioceses, see Bizzocchi, *Chiesa e potere*, 245-56.

¹¹ NA B 1324 (1439-44), fol. 8r, 29 April 1439.

¹² NA M 343 (1458-82), fols. 14r-18v, 24 July 1459. The messenger told Andrea, "Io non posso fare ch'io non ti venga quando io sarò mandato, però ch'io sto col'archivescovo e convenimi ubidire." The assailant was fined 1000 lire, the money to be spent on poor relief.

during vacancies in the archiepiscopate; vicars general continued to convene the tribunal during these intervals.¹³ In the absence of complete court records, it is impossible to calculate the magnitude of the case load, though the evidence does suggest that it increased steadily throughout the century.¹⁴ While in the smaller dioceses, the appointment of one vicar general was sufficient, the workload of Florence's archiepiscopal curia was so heavy as to require occasionally the concurrent appointment of two vicars general.¹⁵ These officials parceled out cases to the various *notai di banco*, each of whom was then responsible for maintaining the dossiers. Thus, Ser Piero Orlandi (September-October, 1496) kept a chronological record of the court's actions in six cases: a dispute between the convent of S. Giovanni Evangelista de Faenza and the hospital of the Innocenti; another described as "the case of the pawned horses," which involved the convent of S. Miniato al Monte; a third described as "the case of S. Antonio de Balducci"; a fourth concerning the nuns of S. Martino de Maiano; a fifth involving the "consignment of the property of S. Leo"; and a sixth process, a dispute between the convent of S. Bartolomeo of Fiesole and a certain Tommaso Stefani.¹⁶

The pace of these cases through the judicial process could be rapid or glacially slow, depending upon the nature of the dispute and the status and temperament of the litigants.¹⁷ Small debts owed by clerics to laymen or other ecclesiastics were usually resolved expeditiously, when debtors acknowledged their obligations and agreed to settle their accounts.¹⁸ The

¹³ Messer Giovanni of Sicily, vicar general on behalf of Messer Tommaso, the governor of the archdiocese, prosecuted a case against Priest Giovanni di Francesco during the vacancy created by the death of Archbishop Amerigo Corsini (NA M 347, no. 122, 6 Aug. 1435). But Antoninus did suspend the business of his court while visiting the diocese of Pistoia in October 1447 (Orlandi, *S. Antonino* 2:202).

¹⁴ Compare, e.g., the cases recorded by Ser Paolo Benivieni for the years 1435-36 with those of Ser Alessandro Borsi for the years 1488-89 (NA B 1322 [1435-48], part 2; NA B 2248 [1488-95]). Messer Francesco Machiavelli, a doctor of canon law, complained (1427) about the low level of business in the church courts: "E non vi maravigliate che abbi chosi pochi libri in però ch'è veduto che al veschovado niente si fa et che gli a in questa vostra città octo doctori in ragione chanonica che solo due ci sarebono abastanza, a me è paruto non tenere el mio in libri." I owe this reference to Professor David Peterson of the University of Texas, who in turn received it from Dr. Robert Black of Leeds University. My thanks to both.

¹⁵ Examples: Messer Tommaso della Bordella and Messer Onofrio de Curialibus de Cassia (NA B 1322 [1435-48], part 2, fols. 15r-v, 31r [1436]); Messer Martino de Bianchi and Messer Bonaventura da Imola (NA B 1324 [1447-56], fol. 18v. [Sept. 1447]).

¹⁶ NA O 46 (1496-99), *busta* 2, fols. 104r-107r.

¹⁷ On this aspect of medieval justice, see Duane Osheim's exemplary study of a Lucchese secular court in the fourteenth century, "Countrymen and the Law in Late-Medieval Tuscany," *Speculum* 64 (1989): 319-25.

¹⁸ Example: Lorenzo d'Antonio, a cloth retailer of Castelfiorentino, cited Ser Stefano di Michele, rector of the urban church of S. Remigio, for a debt of 1 lira, 16 soldi, on

recalcitrant debtor could prolong the resolution of his case by failing to appear in court (and thus risk excommunication), or by sending a procurator to plead extenuating circumstances.¹⁹ Disputes over property involving religious foundations were invariably protracted affairs, with numerous court appearances by procurators and lawyers haggling over points of law and evidence.²⁰ Of six cases monitored by Ser Piero Orlandi in the autumn of 1496, that concerning the convent of S. Antonio de Balducci had been on the court calendar since May 1495 (and perhaps earlier), and the dispute involving the convent of Faenza was still alive in January 1497.²¹ When significant social, economic, or political interests were at stake, as in the dispute over the alleged marriage of Giovanni della Casa and Lusanna, the litigation was intense and prolonged. That case dominated the court's agenda for six months, from May until October 1455, monopolizing the time of one vicar general, Raffaello de' Primadicis, while producing over 300 pages of evidence.²²

The expenses of operating medieval courts, whether lay or clerical, were borne by those who utilized them. Creditors who sought to recover their loans in diocesan courts paid a fee for submitting their cases, and additional sums were levied for each document redacted by the *notai di banco*, and for each citation delivered by a messenger.²³ These charges were quite modest, ranging from a few denarii to one lira, but in complex and lengthy cases, the amounts spent by litigants were substantial. Fines were levied less commonly in church courts than in secular tribunals, and the income

7 Jan. 1434/35; three days later, Ser Stefano appeared in court and promised to pay his debt (NA B 1322 [1435-38], fol. 6r).

¹⁹ Example: Priest Giovanni, rector of S. Stefano a Grezzano in the Mugello, was ordered (7 Nov. 1436) to pay his debt to Lorenzo di Giovanni da Scarperia within ten days. When the priest did not respond to this citation, a second letter of warning was sent to him on 30 Jan. 1436/37 (NA B 1322 [1435-38], fols. 31r, 50r).

²⁰ Diocesan courts did not normally hear disputes over the possession of benefices, which were settled either by the secular authorities or by the Roman curia; see Bizzocchi, *Chiesa e potere*, 101-193, 290-307.

²¹ NA O 45 (1490-96), no pag., 2 May 1495; O 46 (1496-99), fols. 104r, 105v, 106r, 117v, 126r. One case involving a debt owed by a rural priest dragged on for two years (Sept. 1453 to May 1455), before it was finally resolved (NA B 1322 [1435-48], fol. 84r).

²² Brucker, *Giovanni and Lusanna*, 3, 13, and passim; to which can be added Thomas Kuehn, "Reading Microhistory: The Example of *Giovanni and Lusanna*," *Journal of Modern History* 61 (1989): 512-34.

²³ For examples, see NA B 1322 (1435-48), fols. 2r, 3v, 4r, 6v, 7r; NA B 2248 (1488-95), fols. 6v, 8v. A schedule of charges levied by *notai di banco* for copying documents (ca. 1450) is in NA B 1322 (1447-54), fol. 96r. For charges paid to officials of the *podestà's* court, see the *ricordi* of Antonio Rustichi (1420), Carte Stroziane, ser. II, 11, fol. 26v. On court costs in a Luccese secular court, see Osheim, "Countrymen and the Law," 321, 329-34.

from these monetary penalties was not large.²⁴ Clerics convicted of violations against canon law were often too poor to pay fines, and their sentences were frequently deprivation of their benefices, a term in the communal prison, or exile from the diocese.²⁵ In cases of clergy suspected of serious crimes, Archbishop Antoninus sanctioned torture to obtain confessions, and he also sentenced priests convicted of unspecified offenses to be mitered and whipped by officials of the secular courts.²⁶ In usury cases tried in church tribunals, the beneficiaries were, first, the debtors who had paid illegal rates of interest, and secondly, the poor of the dioceses.²⁷ Fees were also paid for such court actions as the cancellation of sentences of excommunication, and for the privilege granted to friars to beg for alms.²⁸ But these payments were not significant sources of revenue for the church courts. The revenues collected by the *notai di banco* from court fines and fees were petty sums, representing only a fraction of archiepiscopal income.²⁹ The court's expenses cannot be calculated from the extant evidence, but the amounts given to secular officials who apprehended and punished errant clerics were sufficiently large to indicate that the church court was not a significant source of profit for the archdiocese.³⁰

²⁴ Examples: fines of 1 and 5 lire, collected from "il prete di S. Moro" and Messer Francesco, canon of S. Lorenzo in Florence (Orlandi, *S. Antonino* 2:257).

²⁵ An adulterous monk, Giuliano, the abbot of Settimo, was sentenced to five years in the communal prison (cancelled) and permanent exclusion from the city and its environs (NA M 344 [1455-79], fol. 75v, 7 Feb. 1449/50). An adulterous priest, Ser Bartolomeo di Andrea, was ordered to spend 30 florins on repairing the church of S. Procolo, his benefice, and to feed a pauper every week for two years, "in remissione prefatorum peccatorum" (NA M 346 [1435-46], fol. 39r, 11 Jan. 1434/35).

²⁶ Payments were made to employees of secular courts "per loro faticha per dare della fune a due prigionieri," "a dare la colla a un prete," and "per isaminare il chericho"; payments were made to the *cavaliere* of the *capitano del popolo* "per sua faticha e birri quando si fecie scopare e miterare . . . Ser Zanobio e miterare ser Piero stette a San Ambrogio" (Orlandi, *S. Antonino* 2:286, 293, 294, 298). The miters placed on the head of malefactors contained descriptions describing their crimes.

²⁷ For amounts claimed by victims of usurious loans, see NA M 343 (1443-54), fols. 122r-124r, 27 Jan. 1450/51.

²⁸ For examples of fees paid for "lettere questue" (4 lire, 8 lire, 13 lire, 1 florin), see NA B 2250, fols. 37r, 75r (1489, 1490).

²⁹ The records of income and expenditure (*entrata e uscita*) for the archiepiscopal camera during Antoninus's tenure included payments of small sums (4 to 37 lire) from the *capsette* of the *notai di banco*, who paid two-fifths of their collections to the treasury (Orlandi, *S. Antonino* 1:102, 110; 2:265-69). One entry (*ibid.* 1:110) suggests that the money collected in the boxes included fines as well as copying fees: "Dalla capsetta fu di ser francesco [di Francesco da Castelfranco] L. septe soldi dece den. quattro per 5/2 di lire 29. soldi. 13. den. 4 che tocchano L. 11 soldi 17 den. 4, che lire 4 si lasciò per processi et scripture disse monsignore gli aveva fatto fare, e quali denari si trassono per ser Filippo suo fratello dopo la morte di ser francesco."

³⁰ E.g., 4 florins to hirelings (*spie*) of the Otto di Guardia for apprehending the wife

While secular courts were frequently and sharply denounced for corruption and malfeasance by contemporaries,³¹ ecclesiastical tribunals were relatively immune from criticism by clergy and laity. Given the silence of the sources, which should perhaps not be interpreted to mean approbation, it is difficult to evaluate the performance of these courts and their personnel. They obviously functioned most efficiently under the supervision of resident and activist bishops, such as Amerigo Corsini (1411-35) and Antoninus (1446-59). The volume of court activity under Antoninus, as reflected in the notarial protocols, was larger than that of any other fifteenth-century Florentine prelate. From 1474 until 1508, the Florentine archbishopric was occupied by an absentee, Rinaldo Orsini,³² and the archdiocese was essentially governed by vicars general, selected not by the archbishop but by his brother-in-law, Lorenzo de' Medici. When Rinaldo was promoted (February 1474) to the Florentine see, he wrote Lorenzo: "For appointing vicars and other officials needed to [administer the archdiocese], Your Magnificence may act in my name as you wish."³³ The officials selected to administer the archdioceses may have been competent, but their political allegiance to the Medici inevitably weakened their ability to defend the church's interests, when these might have been in conflict with those of the Medicean state. The contrast with the fiercely independent Antoninus could not have been greater.³⁴

CLERICAL DISCIPLINE

Among the important responsibilities of Florentine bishops and their vicars was the appointment of worthy and qualified clergy, and the supervision of their activities and behavior. The ecclesiastical community in the

of Niccolò Magaldi in the marital dispute between Giovanni and Lusanna (see above, n. 22); 15 lire, 15 soldi "per una presura d'un frate predicatore presono a Colle"; 3 florins "quando andavano a Prato per ser Zanobino" (Orlandi, *S. Antonino* 2:292, 294, 295). The *famigli* of the vicar of Scarperia received 3 lire, 6 soldi for taking a priest into custody; and additionally, 6 lire, 9 soldi, "perchè non erano contenti" (ibid. 2:294).

³¹ E.g., Gene A. Brucker, *Florentine Politics and Society, 1343-1378* (Princeton, 1962), 62-64, 120-31; idem, *The Civic World of Early Renaissance Florence* (Princeton, 1977), 217-23; idem, *The Society of Renaissance Florence* (New York, 1971), 130-37.

³² Prior to Orsini's appointment, the archbishop was Giovanni Dietsalvi Neroni, an opponent of the Medici, who lived in exile at the Roman curia from 1466 until his death in 1473; see Bizzocchi, *Chiesa e potere*, 211-13. Bizzocchi comments on the declining quality of Tuscan bishops in the second half of the Quattrocento (ibid., 239-40).

³³ Ibid., 254.

³⁴ On Antoninus's relations with the Florentine government, see now Peterson, "Archbishop Antoninus," chap. 2. For an example of Lorenzo's interference in ecclesiastical justice, see Bizzocchi, *Chiesa e potere*, 283.

Florentine archdiocese numbered more than three thousand secular and regular clergy, integrated into a structure comprising 600 churches, thirty priories and canonries, and over 100 monastic foundations.³⁵ To exercise effective control over this large and complex community was a difficult task, complicated by jurisdictional disputes within the diocese, and by secular pressures and interference. Periodic visitations provided the bishops with knowledge about the performance of their clergy, and other information came from Rome and from secular authorities. Among the most common charges of clerical malfeasance were adultery, gambling and drunkenness, and failure to perform religious services. The catalogue of accusations against Piovano Arlotto, contained in a letter from Pope Nicholas v to Antoninus (1449) is noteworthy for its comprehensiveness. Arlotto was charged with celebrating Mass while excommunicate, with stealing property from his church of S. Cresci, with blasphemy and fornication, with pursuing a career as an actor (*vitamque artem istrionis exercens*), and with insufficient learning for a priest.³⁶ These charges were so numerous and so serious that one is surprised to learn that Arlotto retained his benefice. Had it been proved that the charges against him were false, brought perhaps by clerics seeking to replace him? Did the *piovano* have influential friends, who interceded with his judges on his behalf, to save his benefice and his livelihood?³⁷

While the mores of the Tuscan clergy may not have changed during the fifteenth century, as some scholars have argued,³⁸ their surveillance by diocesan authorities did fluctuate significantly. Amerigo Corsini (d. 1435) was a dedicated bishop,³⁹ but Antoninus (d. 1459) was even more assiduous

³⁵ In *Les toscans et leurs familles* (Paris, 1978), 156, David Herlihy and Christiane Klapisch-Zuber estimate that the clerical population of Florence and environs was 1700 and that the clerical population of the entire Florentine state was between 4300 and 4500. The figure of 3000 for the Florentine archdiocese is probably conservative. On the number of religious foundations in the archdiocese, see Peterson, "Archbishop Antoninus," 30.

³⁶ NA I 34 (1445-48), no pag., 25 Jan. 1448/49. Arlotto was quoted (in one of his *facezie*) as saying that "io sono ignaro delle lettere e mai non viddi libri e a fatica so leggere in sul mio missale" (*Motti e facezie del Piovano Arlotto*, ed. G. Folena [Milan, 1953], 11). For other complaints about Arlotto's performance as a cleric, see Elio Conti, *I catasti agrari della Repubblica fiorentina e il catasto particellare toscano (secoli XIV-XIX)* (Rome, 1966), 87-88. On Arlotto, see now F. W. Kent and Amanda Lillie, "The Piovano Arlotto: New Documents" in *Florence and Italy: Renaissance Studies in Honour of Nicolai Rubinstein*, ed. P. Denley and C. Elam (London, 1988), 347-67.

³⁷ Among Arlotto's well-born friends were Bartolomeo Sassetti and Guido Baldovinetti; see Kent and Lillie, "The Piovano Arlotto," 348. Stefano Orlandi, O.P., has found evidence of Arlotto's fiscal transactions with the archiepiscopal camera during Antoninus's tenure as archbishop (Orlandi, *S. Antonino* 2:238-41).

³⁸ Notably, Hay, *The Church in Italy*, chap. 4.

³⁹ Corsini was a resident prelate, who organized at least one visitation of his diocese (1422); see Peterson, "Archbishop Antoninus," 589. Peterson described Corsini as "at best a weak leader, perhaps corrupt and certainly not exceptionally virtuous . . ." (*ibid.*, 490).

in scrutinizing and disciplining his clergy. Only fragments of the record of his extensive visitations have survived, but the notarial protocols contain a large number of cases of clerical misconduct during his tenure. At least eighteen priests were deprived of their benefices by Antoninus, a total greater than that of the other nine incumbents combined.⁴⁰ Antoninus's successors, Orlando Bonarli and Giovanni Dietsalvi, were resident bishops but much less active than the Dominican in inspecting their churches and disciplining their clergy.⁴¹ Under the absentee archbishop, Rinaldo Orsini (1474-1508), the diocesan machinery for monitoring clerical behavior scarcely functioned. Orsini's interest in the benefice was limited solely to its income, and his vicars general were not well qualified to administer the archdiocese.⁴² Through his promotion of Rinaldo, Lorenzo de' Medici was directly responsible for the maladministration of the Florentine archdiocese in the last decades of the Quattrocento.⁴³

The majority of priests who lost their benefices had been convicted of sexual misconduct. They either had maintained a concubine in their house or had carnal relations with a cluster of female parishioners.⁴⁴ Some of these liaisons continued for several years, which raises a question about the attitude of parishioners and their tolerance for the sexual misbehavior of their priests. Long before Boccaccio, Tuscan males perceived the clergy as a pervasive threat to the chastity of their women. In 1467, the municipal council of Vinci elected a layman to the directorship of the local hospital, instead of a priest who had been promoted by Lorenzo de' Medici. The reason for that decision, Lorenzo's correspondent informed him, "was that

⁴⁰ The total is surely higher. For some examples, see NA I 34 (1450), no pag., 28 Jan. 1450/51; NA M 348, nos. 4, 11, 31; NA U 57, no pag., 9 June 1457; NA M 343 (1447-59), fols. 27r, 81r. Antoninus was once accused by a priest of incarcerating him until he agreed to renounce his benefice (NA O 87 [1455-59], fol. 284r, 1 June 1457).

⁴¹ There are no surviving records of visitations by Florentine archbishops from Antoninus's death (1459) until the tenure of Giulio de' Medici (1514-15).

⁴² One of Rinaldo's vicars, Francesco da Fermo, "cominciò a fare mille tirannie ed estorsioni a tutto il clero, e così durò parecchie anni." The clergy complained to Orsini that the vicar general had robbed them of 4000 florins (*Motti e facezie del Piovano Arlotto*, 44). In 1503, the republic was forced to intervene in a dispute between Orsini and his vicar general. The archbishop complained that the Signoria had supported his former official: "che lui ci è inferiore insurga contra il suo superiore, volendo star lì et exercitar l'offitio contro mia volontà" (Signori, Carteggi, Responsive Originali, 26, fol. 132r, 11 June 1503; see also fols. 103r, 106r, 127r-v).

⁴³ The Signoria claimed that Rinaldo Orsini was the choice of the Florentine *popolo* (Signori, Legazioni e Commissarie, 17, fols. 172r, 173v-175r, Jan. 1473/74).

⁴⁴ Examples: NA F 507 (1423-27), fol. 210r-v, 26 May 1426; F 507 (1427-30), fol. 159r-v, 23 July 1429; F 508, fol. 45r-v, 18 Nov. 1429; F 509, no. 124, 27 March 1450; M 346 (1435-46), fols. 39r-42r; M 348, no. 11, 3 Dec. 1451; G 590 (1480-84), fols. 382v-383r, 2 Oct. 1483.

those who lived near the hospital had petitioned the council to choose someone who would behave properly toward their daughters and wives, and if your candidate had not been a priest, he would have won.”⁴⁵ Some residents in certain rural parishes did accuse their priests of maintaining concubines and/or seeking sexual partners among their female parishioners. Inspecting the parish of S. Stefano de Calcinaria near Signa (1514), the vicar general reported the testimony of three parishioners who stated that their rector, Ser Tommaso di Giovanni, had maintained a concubine, Violetta da Gangalandi, for several years.⁴⁶ In that same visitation, a Vallombrosan monk, Messer Gregorio de Arrighi, was accused by a parishioner of S. Niccolò de Turri, where he officiated, of an adulterous relationship with one woman, and of “making dishonest requests in the confessional.”⁴⁷ But when the vicar general discovered that a *piovano* of Certaldo, Messer Bernardo of Cremona, “maintained a servant who is not immune from suspicion,” the parishioners refused to inculcate Bernardo, insisting that he was a virtuous and worthy priest.⁴⁸

Accusations against clerics who allegedly practiced “the unmentionable vice” are sparse in the notarial records, but the language employed in describing this crime leaves no doubt that it was perceived to be a grave peril to the clerical order and to the whole Christian community.⁴⁹ High rank in the ecclesiastical hierarchy did not provide immunity from accusations of unnatural sexual practices. Archbishop Antoninus investigated the complaint that his own vicar general, Messer Lazaro Nardi, was a sodomite, and indeed, may have been forced to resign his office over the issue.⁵⁰ A canon of San Lorenzo, Messer Bartolomeo di Andrea, appealed to Pope Eugenius iv for help in rehabilitating himself after he had been accused of sodomy. In response to that petition, the pope commissioned two Florentine clerics to investigate the case, to allow Bartolomeo to purge

⁴⁵ Mediceo Avanti il Principato, 23, no. 153, 25 Nov. 1467. I owe this reference to Dr. F. W. Kent.

⁴⁶ Archivio archivescovile, Florence, visitation of Messer Piero di Andrea de Casali of Bologna, vicar general for Archbishop Giulio de' Medici (1514-15), fol. 23r. I am grateful to Professor David Peterson for providing me with a photocopy of this visitation.

⁴⁷ Ibid., fol. 34v.

⁴⁸ Ibid., fol. 53v.

⁴⁹ On sodomy in Florentine lay society, see Michael J. Rocke, “Il controllo dell'omosessualità a Firenze nel XV secolo: gli *Ufficiali di Notte*,” *Quaderni storici*, n.s., 22 (1987): 701-23.

⁵⁰ Messer Lazaro was accused of a sexual relationship with Messer Baldassare, a Vallombrosan monk (NA M 348, no. 52, 15 March 1454). The only surviving fragments of the process are the interrogations of two priests, who denied the accusation. Nardi was replaced as vicar general by Messer Raffaello de' Primadicis, by Sept. 1454 (NA B 1322 [1443-48], part 2, fol. 88r).

himself and, if no one appeared to denounce him, to proclaim his innocence.⁵¹ But clerical careers could be ruined by the mere charge of sexual deviance. Ser Marco de Settimo, the rector of the parish of S. Piero a Soliciano, had been accused and then absolved of sodomy. Nevertheless, the vicar general ordered him to resign his benefice within one month or suffer excommunication.⁵²

Nuns who had violated their vows of chastity and obedience were not haled before church courts, where their shame, and that of their families, would have been publicized before the world. The transgressions of these cloistered women were judged, and penalties assessed, by their superiors in their convents, though in some cases, diocesan and papal officials investigated allegations of misconduct.⁵³ The magistracy established in 1421 to maintain surveillance of the city's nunneries penalized men who invaded these sanctuaries, but it did not judge the "weak and fragile" women who were the targets of these incursions.⁵⁴ Their punishment was an internal matter, which might involve torture, imprisonment, and, in extreme cases, expulsion from the convent.⁵⁵ Efforts by ecclesiastical authorities to improve the discipline of convents that were judged to be "scandalous" were often thwarted by civic officials and by the male relatives of the cloistered women.⁵⁶ Fra Filippo Lippi's liaison with Suor Lucrezia Buti was only the most notorious of many "scandals" involving Florentine nuns,⁵⁷ and when Cosimo

⁵¹ NA M 345 (1420-34), fol. 243r-v, 4 Aug. 1434. This rite of purgation must have been exceptional in the Quattrocento. The apostolic commissioner, Roberto Cavalcanti, ordered his messenger to go to the cathedral, to S. Lorenzo, and to other places in the city, and to invite anyone with knowledge of Bartolomeo's crimes to testify before the commissioner. No one appeared to accuse the canon, but three months later he was convicted, not of sodomy but of fornication (NA M 346 [1435-46], fols. 37r-45r).

⁵² Archivio archivescovile, visitation of Messer Piero de Casali, fol. 42v: "... que de sodomitico vitio cum quodam iuvene ibidem vicino infamatum esse comperimus; licet de huiusmodi peccato sit absolutus, ideo sibi presenti et audienti, ut apparuit, percipimus quatenus infra mensem a dicta cura recedat. ..." A less severe penalty was imposed by Antoninus on a Benedictine monk convicted of sodomy with boys in the church of S. Cecelia: a 25 lire fine and exile from the quarter of S. Croce for five years (NA M 343 [1459-80], fol. 163r-v [1449]). In his *Constitutiones*, Antoninus prescribed imprisonment as the appropriate penalty for clerical sodomites; see Peterson, "Archbishop Antoninus," 582.

⁵³ See, e.g., NA D 88 (1462-64), fols. 124r-125v, 18 Aug. 1463.

⁵⁴ Brucker, *Society of Renaissance Florence*, 207; and idem, *Renaissance Florence* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1983), 192-93. For cases judged by this magistracy, see *Society of Renaissance Florence*, 209-12; Giudice degli Appelli, 77, part 2, fols. 72r-73r, 107v-108r; 81, no pag., 10 July 1443.

⁵⁵ For an allegation of the torture of a nun, see Provvisioni, 121, fols. 113r, 17 Dec. 1430.

⁵⁶ Bizzocchi, *Chiesa e potere*, 31-33.

⁵⁷ The records of the Holy Penitentiary in Rome are filled with these cases; for Tuscan examples, see Archivio Segreto Vaticano, Archivio della Sacra Penitenziaria, 3, fols. 20bis,

de' Medici arranged with Pope Pius II to release the couple from their religious vows, he was following a venerable tradition, acting as an influential patron on behalf of a favored client.⁵⁸

From the perspective of parishioners, the most serious abuse committed by their priests was failure to fulfill their obligations of residence, to recite the Mass at scheduled times, and to perform the rites of extreme unction for the dying. A litany of complaints about non-residence and non-performance of cult duties run through the visitation records. In his tour of rural parishes in 1446-47, Archbishop Antoninus could only have experienced dismay over the number of dilapidated churches without priests in residence, whose parishioners "deplored the ruin of the *pieve*."⁵⁹ Seventy years later, Giulio de' Medici's vicar general encountered an ecclesiastical landscape in better condition, but still with certain churches that were poorly serviced by their priests. The parishioners of the urban church of S. Maria Nepotecose complained to the vicar general (September 1514) that "no [priest] resides in the church, and that Mass was not celebrated on Sundays and feast days, . . . and that due to the rector's negligence, Oretta, the wife of Luca Panciatichi, died without extreme unction."⁶⁰ Examples of clerical neglect were more common in the rural districts,⁶¹ where parishioners were particularly resentful of priests who abandoned their flocks during times of plague.⁶² To prevent such desertions, contracts between non-resident beneficed clergy and their hired curates sometimes contained clauses requiring the latter "to hear the confessions of plague victims and to administer the sacrament of the Eucharist, but only outside their homes. . . ."⁶³

322r; 5, fols. 429r, 432v; 10, fol. 155r; 11, fol. 223r; 13, fols. 150r, 159r; NA M 570 (1468-72), fols. 112r-114v; Provvisioni, 142, fols. 143v-144r, 429v-430r; 167, fol. 13r.

⁵⁸ Rudolph and Margot Wittkower, *Born Under Saturn* (New York, 1963), 155-57.

⁵⁹ Orlandi, *S. Antonino* 1:160, on the parish of S. Giovanni Battista de Cornachiarìa: "Omnes populares clamabant et multum se lamentabant de ruyno dicte plebis." Cf. also *ibid.* 1:140 (S. Andrea de Fabrica); 141 (S. Giorgio); 145 (S. Stefano de Linari).

⁶⁰ Archivio archivescovile, visitation of 1514, fol. 9v.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, fol. 84r (S. Martino del Aconello), 86r (oratory of the Annunziata in Dicomano); 92v (S. Alessandro de Vitigliano), 94v (S. Martino de Pagliericcio), 96r (S. Michele Agloni); 105r (S. Lorenzo de Mozzanello).

⁶² NA B 1322, part 2, fol. 43v (S. Maria de Solis), 20 Nov. 1437.

⁶³ NA P 33 (1501-4), fols. 41v-42r, April 1502. The contract was made between the rector of S. Lorenzo de Ponte Greve, Messer Vincenzo Calderini, and the curate, Ser Domenico de Brossio. For a similar contract, see NA B 2254, fol. 1r-v, 9 April 1494 (S. Bartolomeo de Falgano, diocese of Fiesole). In a rental contract involving the parish of S. Andrea in Percussina (Niccolò Machiavelli's rural parish), the curate agreed to reside permanently in the parish "curare infirmos tam tempore morbi quam alio quolibet tempore," for which he was to receive a bonus of 5 lire per month during times of plague (NA F 491 [1484-86], fol. 106r-v).

In their written statutes, in their synodal meetings, bishops constantly emphasized the obligation of every beneficed cleric to provide for the spiritual welfare of his parishioners. If circumstances necessitated his absence from his church, he was obliged to appoint a qualified priest to provide these services. Yet, in their pastoral letters and visitations, bishops and their officials complained incessantly about the absenteeism of their clergy. In May 1434, Archbishop Amerigo Corsini accused the priests of his archdiocese of "deserting their parishes and leading destructive lives elsewhere." His solution to this problems was draconian. He cancelled all dispensations authorizing non-residence and ordered all beneficed clergy to reside in their parish or be deprived of their office.⁶⁴ Sixty years later, the reformist bishop of Fiesole, Roberto Folchi, complained about the failure of his rural clergy to recite Mass, to hear confessions, and to perform other cult duties.⁶⁵ A major purpose of episcopal visitations was to identify parishes that were poorly serviced and to exert pressure upon their rectors and patrons to remedy the defect.⁶⁶ If admonition failed, then diocesan officials acted to deprive incumbents of their benefices.⁶⁷ But priests threatened with deprivation could petition for cancellation of the penalty, citing the paltry revenues accruing to the benefice, which were not adequate to support a resident cleric.⁶⁸

Diocesan authorities possessed both spiritual and temporal weapons to force their clergy to submit to their authority. Every cleric charged with a violation of the sacred canons could be, and often was, threatened with excommunication as well as the loss of his livelihood through deprivation of his benefice. Still, excommunications could be cancelled, and all penalties could be appealed to Rome. A priest in Florence's S. Lorenzo (1489) had been excommunicated for murder and had lost his chaplaincy; but upon receiving absolution from the office of the Holy Penitentiary in Rome, he appealed successfully for the restoration of his office.⁶⁹ Priests and monks excommunicated for sexual offenses were routinely absolved by the Penitentiary.⁷⁰ Light penalties, and accessible procedures for their cancellation,

⁶⁴ NA I 33 (1433-36), no pag., 12 May 1434.

⁶⁵ NA B 2248 (1488-95), fol. 49r-v, 22 May 1494.

⁶⁶ Archivio archivescovile, visitation of 1514, fols. 31v (S. Michele de Empoli), 33v (S. Donato de Livizano), 34v-35r (S. Martino de Carceri), 48r (S. Maria delle Torre), 49r (S. Jacopo de Tresanti), 77r (S. Leonardo de Arcetri).

⁶⁷ Examples: NA M 344 (1397-1432), fols. 62r, 64r (June 1424); B 1322, part 2, fols. 43v, 46v, 48r (Jan. 1437/38); B 2248 (1488-95), fol. 20r (Sept. 1488).

⁶⁸ See, e.g., NA M 568 (1439-49), fols. 297r-v, 11 Dec. 1448; M 569 (1450-53), fol. 47v, 31 Aug. 1450; M 570 (1461-67), fols. 589r-590v, 8 Nov. 1466.

⁶⁹ NA D 93 (1488-89), fol. 31r-v, 15 Oct. 1489.

⁷⁰ Archivio Segreto Vaticano, Archivio della Sacra Penitenziaria, 3, fols. 20bis, 322r; 5, fols. 429r, 432v; 25, fols. 20v, 73r, 107r.

were thus the norm in ecclesiastical discipline. With the sole exception of the Dominican friar, Savonarola, and his two associates, no cleric was executed in Florence during the fifteenth century.⁷¹ The most serious punishment meted out to a few clerics was imprisonment, either in the archiepiscopal jail or in the commune's prison, the *Stinche*.⁷² But these cases were exceptional. Most incarcerated clerics were released upon payment of a fine, or upon the signing of a peace agreement with the offended party.

The mechanisms for the supervision of the Tuscan clergy were well established in the Florentine archdiocese: visitations, investigations, judgments, and the assessment of penalties. Their effectiveness depended upon the personal involvement of resident bishops, who established the standards of appropriate behavior and who then labored, often against strong resistance, to enforce those standards. But under lax or corrupt leadership, the system broke down, as was dramatically demonstrated in the diocese of Pistoia under its absentee bishop, Niccolò Pandolfini (1474-1517), and his vicar general, Donato de' Bocci. In a trial conducted by his successor (1507), Bocci confessed to a lengthy catalogue of misdeeds during his tenure as vicar general.⁷³ He had engaged in acts of sodomy with several members of the Florentine and Pistoiese clergy, and he promoted a sexual liaison between a Florentine cleric, Messer Castellano Castellani,⁷⁴ and the abbess of the convent of S. Giorgio de Capraia. Messer Donato's avarice was apparently limitless. He pocketed bribes for granting benefices, for settling disputes before the diocesan court, and for releasing clerics from jail who had been accused of crimes. The record of this process includes a signed confession by the disgraced cleric but no reference to his penalty. Despite his confession, and the gravity of his misdeeds, Messer Donato's ecclesiastical career was not conclusively terminated. In 1524, he was again serving as

⁷¹ The archbishop of Pisa, Francesco Salviati, and clerics in his retinue were executed without trial by Medici partisans for their part in the Pazzi conspiracy of 1478; see Bizzocchi, *Chiesa e potere*, 264-68.

⁷² Piovano Bartolo di Bartolo was imprisoned in the communal prison for two years for failing to pay a debt of 80 florins (NA B 1324, fols. 112v-113v, 7 Apr. 1441). Another cleric, Messer Piero di ser Paolo de Mendola, was confined to the *Stinche* (1463) for unspecified crimes, at the pleasure of the archbishop; see Brucker, *Society of Renaissance Florence*, 168. For other examples of incarcerated clerics, see Orlandi, *S. Antonino* 1:116, 122, 124, 125, 126; 2:257, 286, 288, 293, 294.

⁷³ The record of this trial is in NA G 57 (1504-9), no pag., 18-19 April 1507; *ibid.* (1501-10), no pag., 18 April 1507. I thank Dr. William Connell for calling this case to my attention.

⁷⁴ On Castellani, see Armando F. Verde, *Lo Studio fiorentino, 1473-1503: Ricerche e documenti*, 3 vols. (Pistoia and Florence, 1973-1985), vol. 3, pt. 1, 221-23.

vicar general of the diocese of Arezzo, having been appointed to that office by Bishop Ottaviano Sforza.⁷⁵

CHURCH COURTS AND THE LAITY

The trial record of Donato Bocchi reveals the extensive network of relationships linking the clerical and secular worlds. As head of the episcopal court, Donato judged disputes between clergy and laity. He involved himself in the fiscal operations of the diocese, specifically, in the collection of rents and fees owed to the bishopric. He granted dispensations for matrimones within prohibited degrees of consanguinity, and (so it was alleged) for dissolving as many as forty marriages.⁷⁶ He absolved priests and wet nurses who had been excommunicated for the deaths, by smothering, of infants.⁷⁷ In his wide-ranging search for sources of income from laymen, Bocchi neglected only cases of heresy, which would normally be investigated by inquisitors, and of usury.

Diocesan officials were involved in every stage of the life cycle, from birth to death, and at each stage there existed possibilities for conflict. Baptisms had not yet become a focus of discord between clergy and laity, as would occur later during the Counter-Reformation.⁷⁸ But the clergy was increasingly concerned about the suffocation of babies, and diocesan authorities in Fiesole automatically excommunicated parents or wet nurses who were involved in these deaths. Only one example of absolution for an infant's death has been found in the Florentine diocese, but Fiesole's records contain dozens of such cases.⁷⁹ The fact that so many of these suffocations involved baby

⁷⁵ NA P 62 (1524-27), no pag. Sforza was bishop of Arezzo from 1519 until 1525; see C. Eubel, *Hierarchia catholica medii et recentioris aevi*, vol. 3 (Regensburg, 1923; rpt. Padua, 1960), 116.

⁷⁶ NA G 57, no. 4 (1504-9), 17 April 1507: "Item . . . confesso havere havuto da M. Giovanbattista fiorini due . . . per disfare un' altro matrimonio. Item disse che in tutte le dissolutioni e confirmationi de' matrimonii sempre lui pigliava denari benchè ingiustamente . . . delle quali cause lui ne confessò havere decise più di 40, delle quali confesò havere preso denari." In the margin is this rubric: "Ricordisi e notifi si e' persone."

⁷⁷ Ibid.: "Item . . . confessò qualche volta havere assoluto da qualche oppressione de' fanciulli et havessi preso per se e' denari ingiustamente et quelli ne' proprii usi havere convertito."

⁷⁸ John Bossy, "The Counter-Reformation and the People of Catholic Europe," *Past and Present* 47 (May, 1970): 57-58.

⁷⁹ The Florentine case is in NA B 1324, fol. 136v, 17 Nov. 1441. The vicar general, Messer Niccolò da Pistoia, ordered a priest, Domenico da Certaldo, to cancel the excommunication of Jacopo di Simone del Fede and his wife Margherita for the death of Cecco di Domenico da Scarperia, "eum eisdem in lecto iacentem et quem tenebant ad nutricandum." The Fiesole authorities charged 2 lire for cancelling the excommunications (NA B 2250, no pag., 15 Dec. 1491).

girls lends credence to Richard Trexler's contention that many if not most were deliberate.⁸⁰ These excommunications did not reduce the incidence of smotherings, but they do testify to the intensified surveillance of rural priests over the domestic behavior of their parishioners.⁸¹

The institution of marriage was a perennial source of discord within lay society, and between the secular and ecclesiastical realms in fifteenth-century Tuscany. The church had long sought to extend and fortify its control over marriage, and in his 1455 constitutions, Archbishop Antoninus had prohibited any dispute involving marriage from being tried in secular courts.⁸² But the laity were deeply involved in this institution, which concerned issues of property, social status, and power.⁸³ It might be said that Tuscans regarded marriage as too important to be left to the exclusive control of the clergy.

The ritual of marriage was a complex scenario, each phase of which possessed its particular balance of ecclesiastical and secular interests. Licenses to marry within prohibited degrees of consanguinity were issued exclusively by the office of the Holy Penitentiary in Rome and registered by the vicar general of the diocese.⁸⁴ Ecclesiastical authorities did not normally intervene in cases involving a future promise to marry (*sponsalia*). The parties in such cases could mutually agree to cancel their contract, and this joint resolution was registered by a notary before witnesses.⁸⁵ But once a marriage agreement had been solemnized by an exchange of vows and rings, and had been consummated, diocesan authorities claimed the exclusive right to

⁸⁰ Richard Trexler, "Infanticide in Florence: New Sources and First Results," *History of Childhood Quarterly* 1 (1973-74): 103. Of thirty-seven cases recorded in Fiesole's diocesan records between Nov. 1491 and Jan. 1493/94, eighteen involved girls, five involved boys, and fourteen were not identified by gender.

⁸¹ Trexler, "Infanticide in Florence," 104, has counted thirty-eight baby deaths by suffocation in the Fiesole diocese for the decade 1500-1509, and fifty-seven for the succeeding decade.

⁸² Richard Trexler, "The Episcopal Constitutions of Antoninus of Florence," *Quellen und Forschungen aus italienischen Archiven und Bibliotheken* 59 (1979): 257-58.

⁸³ Brucker, *Giovanni and Lusanna*, chap. 4; Christiane Klapisch-Zuber, *Women, Family and Ritual in Renaissance Italy* (Chicago, 1985), chaps. 5, 6, 9, 10, 11.

⁸⁴ Examples: NA A 279, fol. 92r-v; M 570 (1461-67), fols. 1r-2r, 378r-381v; M 571, fols. 233r-234r; G 590 (1467-74), fol. 333r; G 591 (1485-89), fols. 2r, 69v. These dispensations all involved members of prominent Florentine families.

⁸⁵ Example: "Cum hoc sit quod inter Chaterinam filiam Mei Martii . . . ex una et Nicolaum Mannelli Mathei . . . intervenerunt promissiones de contrahendo adinvicem matrimonium, et ex post non contententur adinvicem matrimonium contrahere, ea propter ex promissis et aliis iustis causis eorum animum moventibus, prefatus Nicolaus cum consensu Mannelli patris sui . . . et Caterinam prefata cum consensu dicti Mei patris sui . . . liberaverunt se a quibuscumque promissionibus de contrahendo et aliis quibuscumque et consenserunt quod utraque ipsorum possint cum alio contrahere absque preiudicio" (NA D 94 [1491], fol. 11r, 15 Apr. 1491). For references to similar cases, see Brucker, *Giovanni and Lusanna*, 129.

decide whether or not such marriages were valid. From the fragmentary references to such disputes in the notarial records, it is impossible to estimate the number of marriage cases tried in diocesan courts.⁸⁶ Church tribunals also had jurisdiction over petitions for dissolution of marriages, for such cause as coercion, bigamy, desertion, insanity, and impotence.⁸⁷ Very few Tuscan marriages were dissolved by court decree, but separations were quite common, and they sometimes involved civic officials. In two exceptional cases, a vicar general (1439) and a *podestà* (1442) ordered wives to return to their husbands or suffer penalties.⁸⁸ But secular, not ecclesiastical, authorities took the initiative in providing for wives who had separated from their husbands "for just cause," requiring the latter either to return the wife's dowry or to provide her with a living allowance.⁸⁹

The minuscule number of cases from notarial records of marital litigation before Tuscan church courts suggests that ecclesiastical authorities played a limited and essentially passive role in monitoring relations between the sexes before, during, and after marriage. The church's participation in marriage ceremonies had traditionally been marginal; notaries, not priests, normally officiated at the formal exchange of vows and rings.⁹⁰ Archbishop Antoninus condemned clandestine marriages, and he sought to persuade wedding couples to attend a nuptial mass.⁹¹ But apparently neither his court nor those of other diocesans in Tuscany prosecuted cases of adultery,

⁸⁶ Apart from the celebrated case of Giovanni and Lusanna, I have found only five other references to litigation over marriage contracts in the Florentine diocesan court: NA F 507 (1418-24), fol. 103r-v, 1 Oct. 1423; I 33 (1440-44), no pag., 7 Sept. 1443; M 347, no. 89, 22 Dec. 1433; D 89 (1466-69), fol. 76r, 20 Jan. 1466/67; D 90 (1472-73), fol. 31r-v, 12 June 1472. There are five references to "cause matrimoniali" in the diocesan court of Fiesole for the years 1490-94 (NA B 2250, no pag.). Cf. the heavy case load of marital disputes in the court of Constance (some 10,000 cases) in the second half of the sixteenth century (Thomas Max Safley, *Let No Man Put Asunder: The Control of Marriage in the German Southwest* [Kirksville, Mo., 1984], 46).

⁸⁷ For a case involving desertion and insanity, see NA F 507 (1427-30), fols. 154r-155r. See also Brucker, *Giovanni and Lusanna*, 128-29. Many cases of dissolution of marriage were decided by the Holy Penitentiary in Rome, a rich and unexplored source for the history of pre-Tridentine marriage; see Brucker, "Religious Sensibilities in Early Modern Europe: Examples from the Records of the Holy Penitentiary," *Historical Reflections* 15 (1988): 19-21.

⁸⁸ NA B 1324, fols 45v-46r, 23 Nov. 1439; T 93, no pag., 25 Aug. 1442. The vicar general threatened the recalcitrant wife with excommunication; the *podestà* threatened her with the denial of material support. The *podestà*'s involvement in a marriage case would surely have led to his censure by Antoninus; see Peterson, "Archbishop Antoninus," 584.

⁸⁹ On dowries, see the bibliographical references in Brucker, *Giovanni and Lusanna*, 127-28. On marital separations, see Catasto, 785, fol. 315r; 787, fol. 243r; 790, fol. 331r.

⁹⁰ Klapisch-Zuber, *Women, Family and Ritual*, 193-96.

⁹¹ Peterson, "Archbishop Antoninus," 584.

fornication, or sodomy involving the laity.⁹² The church's control over marriage and marital relations was particularly tenuous in the rural areas of Tuscany. In those regions, marriages between blood kin within prohibited degrees must have been quite common, but the spouses did not bother to petition Rome for dispensations.⁹³ Nor did church authorities seriously confront the problem of lay concubinage, which was common in both city and countryside.⁹⁴ Not until a century later, in the era of the Council of Trent, was this widespread practice systematically attacked by diocesan officials and parish priests.

The church was intimately involved in the ceremonies surrounding the death and burial of its lay members. Priests administered the last rites to the dying, and they officiated at burials, which were frequently attended by large contingents of regular and secular clergy. The rituals surrounding death and burial were occasions for the transfer of substantial amounts of money from the laity to the clergy, in the form of payments to clerics who participated in the funeral services, in the burial fees charged to the families of the deceased, and most important, in the payment for masses for the souls of the dead. Each facet of this "economy of death" could ignite a quarrel between clerics and laymen, which sometimes had to be settled in diocesan courts.⁹⁵

In their testaments, dictated either in health or in terminal illness, Tuscans invariably left a portion of their estate to religious foundations.⁹⁶ The

⁹² No cases involving these crimes have survived in the records of the Tuscan church courts that I have read.

⁹³ No cases from the rural areas of Tuscany are to be found in the notarial protocols, nor have I discovered any examples in my perusal of the archives of the Holy Penitentiary in Rome for the second half of the fifteenth century.

⁹⁴ In his *Constitutiones*, Antoninus did stipulate that such cases were to be reported to the diocesan authorities; see Trexler, "Episcopal Constitutions," 257. The 1514 visitation by Giulio de' Medici's vicar general uncovered only a handful of cases of lay concubinage (Archivio archivescovile, visitation of 1514, fols. 7v, 9v, 10r, 11r). Primary sources for determining the extent of lay concubinage are the Catasto (see, e.g., Catasto, 788, fol. 378v; 789, fol. 195v; 826, fol. 115r) and petitions to allow illegitimate children to inherit property (Provvisioni, 77, fol. 117r-v; 78, fols. 259r-260r; 79, fols. 45r-46r, 156v-157v; 99, fols. 78v-79r).

⁹⁵ For examples of these disputes, see NA B 1324 (1447-56), fol. 65r, 8 Aug. 1448; B 2248 (1488-95), fols. 68v, 90r, 19 Apr. and 26 Aug. 1494. The conflicts arising from these issues are discussed by Sharon Strocchia in her forthcoming book, *Death and Ritual in Renaissance Florence*.

⁹⁶ There is no comprehensive study of Florentine testaments comparable to Samuel Cohn's *Death and Property in Siena, 1205-1800* (Baltimore, 1988). Wills are major sources of information for F. W. Kent, *Household and Lineage in Renaissance Florence* (Princeton, 1977), and for the dissertation of Elaine Rosenthal, "Lineage Bonds in Fifteenth Century Florence: The Giovanni, Parenti, and Petrucci" (University of London, 1987).

bequests might be minimal, a few silver coins to a parish church or convent, or as large as Francesco Datini's gift of his entire fortune (80,000 florins) to create a foundation for the poor of his native Prato.⁹⁷ All of these bequests came under the purview of diocesan officials, who were responsible for their implementation.⁹⁸ Procurators for the beneficiaries of these gifts regularly appeared in the diocesan court, appealing to the vicar general to order their transfer, under penalty of excommunication. On 4 September 1439, the heirs of Gualberto di Bartolomeo Morelli were excommunicated for failing to pay 500 florins to "those pious foundations" stipulated in Gualberto's testament.⁹⁹ As tax deductible credits, these bequests were regularly included in *catasto* reports. The painter Neri di Bicci noted his inability to discharge an obligation, stipulated in his father's will, to give 30 florins to the poor. Giuliano di Bate di Giusto, a linen cloth maker, acknowledged a debt of 80 lire to the friars of S. Maria Novella (his grandfather's bequest); "and every day," he wrote, "they excommunicate me if I don't pay."¹⁰⁰ Church courts also entertained petitions to nullify testamentary bequests to religious foundations. Giovanni di Niccolò Covoni brought suit before Archbishop Antoninus against the Franciscan convent of S. Croce, the beneficiary of a bequest from his mother Filippa. Giovanni called several witnesses to testify that his mother was insane, and thus legally incompetent to dictate her testament.¹⁰¹

CLERGY AND LAITY: THE BONDS OF DEBT

The preponderant majority of cases brought before Tuscan diocesan courts did not involve the behavior or beliefs of either clergy or laity, nor jurisdictional matters, nor the performance of religious rituals. The main business of these tribunals was the regulation of financial relationships between clerics and laymen and, increasingly, between members of the laity.

In the fifteenth century, certain categories of cases—for example, usury, and the collection of tithes and rents—figured less prominently in church

⁹⁷ Iris Origo, *The Merchant of Prato* (Boston, 1986), 384-87.

⁹⁸ The Merchants Court was also utilized by religious foundations to force heirs to honor testamentary bequests (Provvisioni, 154, fols. 77v-78r, 4 June 1463).

⁹⁹ NA B 1326 (1439-46), no pag., 8 June, 4 and 22 Sept. 1439. The diocesan court also had to approve transfers of bequests when the primary beneficiary did not fulfill the terms of the will (NA B 2248 [1488-95], fol. 7v, 17 May 1488).

¹⁰⁰ Catasto, 797, fol. 175r, 403v. For other cases of failure to honor testamentary obligations, see Catasto, 54, fol. 201v; 807, fol. 749v; 828, fol. 139r.

¹⁰¹ NA M 347, no. 257, 25 Jan. 1450/51. This source contains only the testimony of four witnesses; Antoninus's judgment of the case was not reported.

court records than in the past.¹⁰² Antoninus was the last Florentine archbishop to prosecute suspected usurers with vigor; after his death, the number of such cases before church courts dropped substantially.¹⁰³ Jews were not prosecuted for usury, as long as their interest rates did not exceed those established by the commune.¹⁰⁴ The archiepiscopal court (1473) followed the counsel of theologians and canon lawyers to decide that interest charged by the newly established *monti de pietà* were not usurious, thus rejecting the arguments of several preachers who had condemned it.¹⁰⁵ Church courts generally followed communal policy in allowing Jews to provide credit for the Florentine poor, and in giving considerable latitude to the city's mercantile community to engage in their borrowing and lending practices.¹⁰⁶

¹⁰² The history of Tuscan usury in the medieval and Renaissance periods remains to be written, but see Armando Saporì, *Studi di storia economica (secoli XIII-XIV-XV)*, 3d ed., 2 vols. (Florence, 1955), vol. 1, chaps. 8-11; Raymond de Roover, *The Rise and Decline of the Medici Bank, 1397-1494* (Cambridge, Mass., 1963); Umberto Cassuto, *Gli ebrei a Firenze nell'età del rinascimento* (Florence, 1918); Marino Ciardini, *I banchieri ebrei in Firenze nel secolo XV e il monte di pietà fondato da Girolamo Savonarola* (Borgo San Lorenzo, 1907; rpt. Florence, 1970); F. R. Salter, "The Jews in Fifteenth-Century Florence and Savonarola's Establishment of a *Mons Pietatis*," *The Cambridge Historical Journal* 5 (1935-36): 193-211.

¹⁰³ Antoninus instructed both clerics and laymen to denounce to his court any usurious loan (Peterson, "Archbishop Antoninus," 574). Usury cases brought before his court are in NA M 343 (1443-54), fols. 120r-130r, 23 Jan. 1451/52, and fol 251r-v, 6 Feb. 1453/54; see Brucker, *Giovanni and Lusanna*, 74, 105-6.

¹⁰⁴ Florentine clerics borrowed money at usurious rates to pay levies imposed on them by the papacy and the commune; see Eugenius IV's letter of 25 Aug. 1431 (NA M 344 [1397-1432], fol. 255r-v). The *catasto* records reveal widespread borrowing from Florentine usurers, both Jews and Christians (Catasto, 23, fol. 369v; 24, fol. 813r; 30, fol. 538v; 36, fol. 367v; 38, fol. 673; 42, fol. 421v; 46, fol. 147v; 49, fol. 279v). The archiepiscopal treasury occasionally borrowed money from Jews; see Orlandi, *S. Antonino* 1:109, 128.

¹⁰⁵ NA G 617 (1473-75), fols. 8r-v, 23 April 1473, printed in Ciardini, *I banchieri*, appendix, no. 16. The decision by the vicar general, Domenico Bocchi, was read before Lorenzo de' Medici "et aliis multis et magna multitudine populi florentini, et assistentibus etiam multis famosissimis doctoribus utriusque iuris et magistris sacre pagine et aliis venerabilis viris tam religiosis quam secularibus. . . ." See Salter, "The Jews in Fifteenth-Century Florence," 202-3.

¹⁰⁶ The rationale for authorizing Jews to engage in moneylending was made by the Signoria (14 Aug. 1447) in a memorandum to their ambassadors at the papal court: "Voi sapete che alli governi delle republiche si permettono alcune cose che non paiano in tucte honeste per meno male, et obviare a molti inconvenienti, come è di permettere che li giudei prestino ausura nelle nostre terre. La qual cosa si concede per habitare li poveri huomini acciò ch'è non avendo quel ricorso, non cadessono in maggiore inconveniente. Veduto adunque questo essere quasi necessario permetterlo nelle nostri terreni . . . et non volendo in alcun modo contrafare alle leggi divine, vogliamo che . . . supplichiate al Sommo Pontefice [Nicholas V] che li degni concedere che noi possiamo fare pacti et permettere a decti hebrei ch'ellino prestino nelle nostri terreni. . . . Et ben ch'è questa paia alieno dalla honestà . . . nientedimeno per la publica utilità è stato conceduto da' suoi antecessori" (Signori e Collegi, Legazioni e Commissarie, 12, fol. 35r-v).

Savonarola's fulminations against usury in the 1490s had little practical impact upon the city's credit system, nor did it lead to an increase in usury cases brought before the church courts.¹⁰⁷

It has been argued that the church's levy of tithes on agricultural products was a major irritant in relations between clergy and laity and that it fostered anticlerical sentiment in many regions of Catholic Europe.¹⁰⁸ But in Tuscany, the burden of the tithe on the peasantry was minimal.¹⁰⁹ In many rural parishes, its collection had been allowed to lapse. "I do not collect any tithe," reported the priest of the parish of S. Maria a Samontana, "because our people are not accustomed to paying it."¹¹⁰ In those parishes where the tithe was still levied, the amount was modest: a few bushels of grain, and one or two barrels of wine. The rector of the church of S. Michele a Rincine (*pieve* of S. Leolino in Conio) reported that he received just three *staiora* of grain annually, "since by ancient custom each household contributes only one-quarter of a *staiio*."¹¹¹ The meagerness of these charges may explain why so few rectors sued their parishioners for payment of the tithe; in many cases, court costs would have exceeded the amount recovered.¹¹² More frequently reported in the court records were claims for rent owed by tenants of church property. The sums involved in these cases varied between 10 and 50 lire. They usually evoked a response from the tenant, who either agreed to pay his debt immediately or petitioned the court for time to satisfy his obligation.¹¹³

¹⁰⁷ Salter, "The Jews in Fifteenth-Century Florence," 208-09, describes the modest capital (3000 florins) of the *monte di pietà* established in 1496. Only one usury case from the 1490s has been found in the church court records (NA O 46 [1496-99], fol. 117v, 9 Dec. 1496). Five cases are noted in the diocesan court records of Fiesole for these years (NA B 2250, no pag.).

¹⁰⁸ Emmanuel Le Roy Ladurie, *Montaillou*, trans. Barbara Bray (New York, 1979), 21-23, 69; idem, *The Peasants of Languedoc*, trans. John Day (Urbana, Ill., 1977), 181-90; Lawrence P. Buck, "Opposition to Tithes in the Peasants' Revolt: A Case Study of Nuremberg in 1524," *Sixteenth Century Journal* 4.2 (October, 1973): 11-22; Henry J. Cohn, "Anticlericalism in the German Peasants' War 1525," *Past and Present* 83 (May, 1979): 3-31; John Bossy, *Christianity in the West 1400-1700* (Oxford, 1985), 64-65.

¹⁰⁹ On the history of the tithe in Italy, see Andrea Castagnetti, "Le decime e i laici," *Storia d'Italia*, ed. Giulio Einaudi, *Annali* 9 (Torino, 1986), 507-30.

¹¹⁰ Catasto, 185, fol. 81r.

¹¹¹ Ibid., 602, fol. 396r. In some parishes, the tithe was only paid when the yield was adequate; ibid., 184, fol. 312v; 193, fols. 145r-146v. A *staiio* was approximately seven-tenths of a bushel.

¹¹² Messer Francesco Sinibaldi, prior of S. Paolo ad Ema (Fiesole diocese) sued four of his parishioners for 6.5 *staiora* of grain, valued roughly at 5 lire (NA B 2248 [1488-95], fol. 138r [1494]). For other suits involving tithes, see NA B 1522 (1435-48), fols. 88r-89r, 92v (1454). One of these cases involved a claim for tithe payments owed for a period of thirty years. The largest tithe payment that I have noted in these protocols was 30 *staiora* of grain and 30 flagons (*lagenas*) of wine (ibid., fol. 88r).

¹¹³ Examples from the court record redacted by Ser Alessandro Borsi (NA B 2248 [1489-

Of the court cases described in the notarial protocols, over ninety percent involved debt: money lent to priests, monks, friars, and nuns by laymen; and less commonly, money borrowed from or owed to clerics. This documentation reveals the broad dimensions of credit relationships between clergy and laity, and their economic interdependence. They also testify to the critical importance of the diocesan courts in the enforcement of debt obligations in this commercial society. Only the Merchants Court in Florence played a greater role, and in some significant respects, the diocesan courts were a more effective mechanism for the recovery of debt than their secular counterparts. Pope Nicholas v wrote to Archbishop Antoninus (January 1452) on behalf of the prior of a Vallombrosan monastery, who was owed money by both clerics and laymen, and who (the pope asserted) could not recover his loans unless the debtors were coerced by ecclesiastical penalties.¹¹⁴

These cases demonstrate that every stratum of Tuscan society, both lay and ecclesiastical, was involved in this network of borrowing and lending. Lorenzo d'Antonio, a retail cloth merchant from Castelfiorentino, sued the rector of the Florentine church of S. Remigio, Ser Stefano di Michele, for a debt of 1 lira and 16 soldi: the equivalent of four days' wages for an unskilled laborer.¹¹⁵ Michele di Simone, a Florentine linen manufacturer, cited Messer Marco Davanzati, the *piovano* of S. Giovanni de Cornacchiaia, and a member of a prominent Florentine family, for a debt of 5 lire, the payment of which he had requested several times "and had always been refused."¹¹⁶ Giovanni di Rinieri Peruzzi, from an even more distinguished lineage, sued his uncle, the priest Bernardo Peruzzi, for a debt of 275 florins.¹¹⁷ Niccolò di Piero Boni, a Florentine shopkeeper, brought suit against Suor Sandra di ser Guido di messer Tommaso [del Palagio], to collect 60 lire for cloth which he had sold to the nun, cloistered in the convent of S. Donato in Polverosa.¹¹⁸ Ser Mariano, the rector of a rural church in the Mugello district, sued a Florentine, Giovanni de' Pigli, for a debt of 5 lire.¹¹⁹ The monks of Ogni Santi of Florence had lent 50 florins to Clemente Fantoni

95], fols. 25v, 28v, 39r, 44v, 45v): the priory of S. Stefano a Ponte (rents of 29, 5, 6, and 2.5 lire); the *pieve* of S. Martino de Sesto (rent of 12 lire); the convent of S. Bartolomeo of Fiesole (rent of 50 lire); the church of S. Benedetto of Florence (rent of 6 lire).

¹¹⁴ NA M 345 (1400-55), fol. 165r, 31 Jan. 1451/52.

¹¹⁵ NA B 1322 (1435-48), part 2, fol. 6r, 7 Jan. 1435/36.

¹¹⁶ *Ibid.*, fol. 36v, 26 Oct. 1437. Florentine laymen, in their *catasto* declarations, complained about the difficulty of collecting debts from clerics. Cf. *Catasto*, 34, fol. 10r (Antonio di Tommaso Nori); 469, fol. 486v (Ser Lodovico della Casa): "... difficile a avere da loro quando non vogliono pagare."

¹¹⁷ NA B 1322 (1435-48), part 2, fol. 47v, 14 Nov. 1437.

¹¹⁸ *Ibid.*, fol. 49r, 27 Jan. 1437/38.

¹¹⁹ *Ibid.*, fol. 40r, 3 Nov. 1437.

and, through a procurator, sued for the recovery of the loan.¹²⁰ The nuns of S. Caterina of S. Gaggio, south of Florence, brought suit against Miniato Losi, who had purchased several barrels of wine, valued at 62 lire, from the convent.¹²¹ The Florentine merchant, Tommaso di Filippo Rucellai, sued a butcher, Piero di Giovanni Pieri, for a debt of 8 florins.¹²²

The fragmentary nature of the surviving court records do not permit any conclusions about the number of debt cases litigated in diocesan courts or about trends over time, but the evidence clearly suggests that the pursuit of ecclesiastical debtors and the settlement of suits against them was the major business of these tribunals. Most of these cases were resolved expeditiously, when the debtor responded to a citation with a promise to pay his obligation. The Florentine knifemaker, Cristoforo di Matteo del Teghia, sued Ser Niccolò di Angelo, rector of the rural parish of S. Maria de Rombole, for a debt of 5 lire on 11 February 1435/46. Three days later, the priest's procurator, the notary Ser Piero di Jacopo Pieri, appeared before the archiepiscopal court to acknowledge the debt and to agree to a date for payment.¹²³ When the debtor disputed the amount of the claim against him, he could agree to submit the case to arbitration, or he might embark upon a strategy of resistance that delayed settlement for months and even years. The prior of the Benedictine abbey of S. Croce del Lormanoro chose to negotiate a settlement of his debt, for which he was sued on 7 February 1435/36 by Gino di Piero, a carpenter. He received the citation on 9 February, and two days later, his procurator appeared before the vicar general to select arbiters to determine the amount of the debt. On 28 February, the arbiters informed the vicar general of their decision, which was then accepted by both parties to the suit.¹²⁴

But these debt cases sometimes became protracted ordeals, which absorbed the energies and resources of litigants and court officials for months. On 20 April 1439, Ser Piero di Martino, a priest who had officiated in a chapel on the Ponte Rubaconte on the Arno was sued by Piero di Mazze Ricasoli for the return of goods which the priest had taken from the chapel. The vicar general, Messer Tommaso della Bordella, ordered the priest to return the items within three days, and the court's messenger stipulated that he had delivered the citation personally to Ser Piero. On 23 April, the plaintiff Piero Ricasoli appeared in court to request that the defendant, who had not appeared to respond to the suit, be declared contumacious. On 28 April,

¹²⁰ NA B 2248 (1488-95), fol. 24r, 11 Oct. 1488.

¹²¹ *Ibid.*, fol. 41v, 7 Jan. 1488/89.

¹²² *Ibid.*, fol. 36v, 18 Dec. 1488.

¹²³ NA B 1322 (1435-48), part 2, fol. 9r.

¹²⁴ *Ibid.*, fol. 9v.

the vicar general instructed his messenger to order the priest to appear the next day, to explain why he should not be excommunicated. The message was delivered; the priest did not appear. On the last day of April, Tommaso della Bordella formally excommunicated Ser Piero and ordered the sentence to be proclaimed in all of the churches of the diocese. Six months later (7 June 1439), a dyer named Cino di Rute announced in the archbishop's court that Ser Piero was gravely ill and could not appear personally. Promising to obey the court, and obligating himself and his heirs to restore Piero Ricasoli's property, the priest petitioned for absolution from the sentence of excommunication. The vicar general accepted the petition and appointed Messer Tommaso di Bernabo, a chaplain in the Florentine church of S. Niccolò, to perform the rites of absolution.¹²⁵

As in all suits before ecclesiastical tribunals, the threat of excommunication was automatically invoked in debt cases and, quite frequently, implemented. The fortuitous survival of a "notebook of excommunication" redacted by the archiepiscopal notary, Ser Leonardo, between 1489 and 1500 provides some limited evidence for the incidence of excommunication in the Florentine archdiocese in the last decade of the fifteenth century.¹²⁶

Between May 1495 and December 1499, the court excommunicated 135 individuals, an average of 2.4 per month. Most of these excommunicates were laymen of obscure background, identified (if at all) by their profession: wool carder, weaver, miller, wineseller, cook, barber. Only twelve of this group were identified as clerics, and only five were members of prominent Florentine lineages: Albizzi, Rucellai, Bucelli, Acciaiuoli, Cavalcanti. In the handful of cases where reasons were given for the sentences of excommunication, debt obligations were invariably cited. Some excommunications were conditional. The monk Santi di Lorenzo, of the Humiliati order, would incur the penalty unless he paid his debt within ten days. The cancellation of these sentences was not recorded in the notebook, though it is likely that most excommunicates were soon absolved after they had settled their financial obligations.¹²⁷ In a few cases of persistent obduracy, the vicar general called upon the secular authorities to enforce the sentence by apprehending and imprisoning the delinquents.¹²⁸

¹²⁵ NA B 1324 (1439-44), fols. 6r-8r.

¹²⁶ NA O 42 (1467), no pag. This protocol redacted by the notary Ser Piero Orlandi includes this "excommunicatorum quaternus factum per me Leonardum notarium archiepiscopalis curie florentine" by another unidentified notarial hand.

¹²⁷ Many, perhaps most, of these excommunications were cancelled before the stern ritual of exclusion was publicized in the diocesan churches, as was done (for example) in the case of the abbot of S. Trinita of Florence, who opposed Archbishop Antoninus's attempt to visit his monastery; see Orlandi, *S. Antonino* 1:188-91 (April, 1448).

¹²⁸ Sandro di Filippo was excommunicated on 14 May 1495, and his sentence was

Diocesan court records for the second half of the Quattrocento reveal a substantial increase in the number of debt cases in which both plaintiff and defendant were laymen. This broader involvement of ecclesiastical tribunals in the lay credit market was due primarily to the introduction, in the 1450s, of a novel formula for debt obligations: the "apostolic camera" clause. On 15 November 1470, in the archiepiscopal court, the Florentine merchant Bartolomeo da Verrazzano acknowledged that he had borrowed 105 florins from Giovanni de' Nobili of Milan and promised to repay the debt at the creditor's demand.¹²⁹ He promised further to submit himself to the jurisdiction of the court of the apostolic camera in Rome, and of any other tribunal secular or religious to which his creditor might bring suit for the recovery of his money. One of the earliest examples of this loan contract in the notarial protocols is dated 14 March 1447/48. In the presence of the vicar general of the Florentine archbishop, a chaplain of S. Lorenzo, Ser Giovanni Migliore, acknowledged a debt of 150 lire owed by his brothers to Jacopo Lambertini, a Pisan merchant then residing in Florence. As a guarantor for the repayment of the loan, Ser Giovanni "submitted himself to the jurisdiction and power of the court of the apostolic camera, and of any other court ecclesiastical or secular."¹³⁰ Thus, a device formerly utilized by the papal treasury to guarantee its receipt of money owed was appropriated by lay lenders to strengthen their legal position vis-

"aggravated," "ex eo quia animo indurato substatuit solemnem excommunicationem." In February 1497, the court stated: "concedimus auxilium brachii militaris contra Robertem Nerii de Cavalcantibus propter eius contumaciam." On 9 March 1490, the cleric Messer Paolo di Simone Pauli was imprisoned for debt in the communal prison by order of the vicar general (NA B 958 [1496-90], no pag.).

¹²⁹ NA O 42 (1470-94), fol. 10v: "In curia archiepiscopali florentie, presentibus presbitero Johanne Pauli cappellano in ecclesia Sancti Stefani ad Pontem . . . et ser Nicolao ser Guidonis Guidi cive et notario florentino. Nobilis vir Bartholomeus olim Ludovici Ceci de Verazano civis florentinus fuit confessus et recognovit se esse verum debitorum . . . Johannis Filippi de Calipiatas de Nobilibus de Mediolano . . . de quantitate florenorum centum cinque . . . quos manualiter recepisse dixit a dicto Johanne Filippi ex causa veri et gratuiti mutui . . . coram me notario infrascripto et testibus suprascriptis, etc., illosque reddere et restituere promixit dicto Johanni Filippo . . . ad omnem eius voluntatem etc. Florentie Pisis etc., et propterea summissit se et iura et bone sue ac compulsioni etc. camere apostolice, et ideo constituit procuratores suos . . . cuiuscumque curiarum et maxime omnes notarios et procuratores curie romane et omnes alios nominandos ad complendum in iudicio et coram quibuscumque iudice etc., et dictum debitum confitendum et cognoscendum et recipiendum occasione predicta omnem censuram ecclesiasticam, quos procuratores non revocare sed manutenere sponte et motu proprio scripturo corporaliter sacrosancto manu ad sancti Dei Evangelice iuravit, et propterea se obligavit in omnibus et pro omnibus secundum meliorem formam camere apostolice. . . ."

¹³⁰ ". . . iurisdictione compulsioni et foro curie camere apostolice et aliarum quarumque curiarum tam ecclesiasticarum quam secularum" (NA B 384 [1446-49], fol. 76r, 14 March 1447/48).

à-vis their debtors.¹³¹ By the end of the fifteenth century, the phrases “in forma camere” or “meliori et pleniori forma camere apostolice” were widely utilized in loan contracts, whether or not the debtors were clerics.¹³² A Florentine provision of 1489 prohibiting the clause in loan contracts contained a significant loophole which permitted its utilization in many cases.¹³³

If contemporaries noticed this pattern of the church’s expanding involvement in the Tuscan credit system in the late Quattrocento, the sources do not reflect their awareness or concern. Many creditors who utilized church tribunals to collect debts were members of the city’s ruling class, whose representatives in the regime would not have complained about this trend. The voices of the debtors, lay and clerical, were normally not heard in the palace of the Signoria. One manifestation of this conflict did emerge in 1476, when a group of *contadini* from the rural regions of Volterra complained to the Signoria that citizens of the town were bringing suit against them in the episcopal court for debt. The first Signoria to consider the case (January-February 1475/76) did not respond favorably to the appeal but prohibited their officials in the area from interfering in the affairs of the episcopal court. The next Signoria, however, wrote to the bishop of Volterra, requesting him to decline debt cases in his tribunal.¹³⁴

By claiming, or accepting, jurisdiction over a large number of debt cases, the Tuscan church through its courts was intimately involved in the lives and fortunes of large numbers of its lay constituents. This intrusion of ecclesiastical authority into the secular sphere had a long history, though it may have become more pervasive in the late Quattrocento. Church courts in Tuscany and Rome regularly excommunicated hundreds of Tuscans, clerics and laymen alike, for failure to pay their debts or to obey court orders. While Mass was being sung in Florence’s cathedral (30 May 1454), Ser Antonio di Niccolò, the cathedral sacristan, “announced the excommunication of Francesco di Altobianco Alberti for failure to pay 125 florins

¹³¹ The abbot of S. Zeno in Pisa (6 Aug. 1450) promised to pay his annates for his newly acquired benefice, “de que abbacie eidem constituenti auctoritate apostolice submittendi sententias excommunicatorias quas occasione huiusmodi annate ferri continget in se suscipiendi cum omnibus clausulis modis et formis ac renuntiationibus et promissionibus in dicte camere consuetis et iuxta ipsius camere formam” (NA M 569 [1450-53], fol. 45r). On the collection of annates, see Raymond de Roover, *The Rise and Decline of the Medici Bank*, 200-201.

¹³² Examples from NA B 2248 (1488-95), fols. 18v, 23r, 24r, 35v, 36v, 61r, 67v, 90v, 101v.

¹³³ Bizzocchi, *Chiesa e potere*, 297-98.

¹³⁴ Bizzocchi, *Chiesa e potere*, 289-90. Bizzocchi notes that the 1472 rebellion of Volterra was a factor in the ambiguous Florentine response to this issue.

to Messer Giovanni de Mercatello . . . with bells rung, candles lit and then extinguished, and an erect cross thrust into the earth. . . ."¹³⁵ Papal and diocesan courts imposed interdicts not only upon individuals but also upon whole communities, or upon particular churches and convents. Antonio Dei could not be interred (October 1491) in his chosen burial site, the Augustinian convent of S. Spirito, because it had been placed under interdict "over a dispute concerning [the patronage of] a church between the Gualterotti and the Bardi [families]. . . ."¹³⁶ In July 1500, the convents of S. Felicità and S. Felice in Piazza were both under interdict, for reasons unspecified. A Florentine official in Rome, Francesco Capelli, was seeking to obtain the cancellation or suspension of the interdict, so that the nuns could celebrate the feast of their patron saint Felicità.¹³⁷

As a consequence of the involvement of their businessmen in papal finances, it is possible that more Florentines suffered the penalty of excommunication than residents of any other community in Christendom.¹³⁸ Some historians have suggested that the church's indiscriminate utilization of excommunication, particularly for activities in the secular sphere, aroused intense resentment within urban communities and contributed to the revolt against the Catholic church.¹³⁹ The evidence from Florence does not support this hypothesis. There is no trace, in the Florentine sources, of the sentiment expressed by the citizens of Toulon in 1311: "We don't care about your excommunication or set any store by it."¹⁴⁰ When the imposition of ecclesiastical penalties, either excommunication or interdict, was perceived as unjust or inappropriate, the Signoria would protest to the clerics who had promulgated the decrees. Some Florentine bankers were excommunicated (1421) on account of their failure to settle their debts with members of the papal curia. The Signoria appealed the sentence which, it claimed, harmed

¹³⁵ "... campane pulsate candele accense pariter et extinte et in terre proiecte cruce erecte . . ." (NA M 569 [1454-58], fol. 15r).

¹³⁶ Conventi Soppressi, no. 78 (Badia), vol. 316, no. 200, 15 Oct. 1491.

¹³⁷ Signori, Carteggi, Responsive Originali, 18, fol. 120r, 27 July 1500.

¹³⁸ See George Holmes, "How the Medici Became the Pope's Bankers," *Florentine Studies*, ed. Nicolai Rubinstein (Evanston, Ill., 1968), 357-80; Melissa Bullard, *Filippo Strozzi and the Medici: Favor and Finance in Sixteenth-Century Florence and Rome* (Cambridge, 1980). But see the estimate of between 30,000 and 50,000 excommunicates in Franche-Comté in the 1570s (Lucien Febvre, "L'application du Concile de Trente et l'excommunication pour dettes en Franche-Comté," *Revue historique* 104 [1910]: 12-15).

¹³⁹ Myron P. Gilmore, *The World of Humanism, 1453-1517* (New York, 1952), 168-69.

¹⁴⁰ Elisabeth Vodola, *Excommunication in the Middle Ages* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1986), 140. Vodola describes, for the later Middle Ages, "an increasing lay apathy toward excommunication, which in some dioceses kept many parishioners away from the church for years" (ibid.). Lucien Febvre may have exaggerated the fears and anxiety of the "good Christians" who were excommunicated in Franche-Comté ("L'application," 30).

the innocent as well as the culpable.¹⁴¹ The bishop of Città di Castello was severely rebuked (March 1433) for placing under interdict a village in Florentine territory, since it denied residents the opportunity to participate in divine services during Lent.¹⁴² In one of the angriest letters sent to any pope in the fifteenth century (October 1468), the Signoria bitterly protested the imposition of an interdict on the city by the vicar general as a result of a debt case involving a certain Filippo Giovanni. The priors described their stupefaction regarding the exclusion of innocent people from divine service "on account of a private money matter." When Florence's churches were closed on the feast day of S. Dionysius, the outraged citizenry rioted, and forced the secular authorities to order the churches to be opened. So intense was civic anger over the incident that the Signoria appealed to the pope to appoint a vicar general "who will love us."¹⁴³

One may conclude from the evidence, admittedly scanty and ambiguous, that excommunicated Tuscans regarded their penalty as a petty nuisance, a condition to be endured briefly and then resolved through negotiation with ecclesiastical authorities. Lorenzo de' Medici wrote to the Florentine ambassador in Rome (March, 1480) to expedite the cancellation of the interdict imposed two years earlier by Pope Sixtus IV. "Visit our archbishop [Rinaldo Orsini]," Lorenzo instructed Francesco Gaddi, "and do everything possible to procure [the absolution], and particularly for myself, so that I can confess and take communion, as is my desire."¹⁴⁴ For the hundreds of poor debtors, the largest category of excommunicates, their absolution was linked to the repayment of their obligations. Some, like Piero di Bartolomeo Pecori, cited poverty and senectitude as justifications for the cancellation of the penalty.¹⁴⁵ The "rich and the well-born" could appeal for aid to secular authorities and to contacts in the Roman curia. Palla Strozzi wrote to his son Carlo (1436) to pay no attention to his excommunication, obtained by a monastic community with which he had quarrelled, since the sentence could easily be cancelled at the papal court.¹⁴⁶ Niccolò Soderini solicited the help of the Signoria (May 1450), who appealed on his behalf to Pope Nicholas V to absolve him.¹⁴⁷ During the pontificate of Alexander VI the number of sentences of excommunication levied against

¹⁴¹ Signori, Missive, 29, fol. 128v, 29 Aug. 1421. The innocent were those relatives of the excommunicates who were denied access to ecclesiastical benefices.

¹⁴² Ibid., 34, fol. 44r, 31 March 1433.

¹⁴³ Ibid., 45, fols. 209r-210v, 12 Oct. 1468. Cf. Bizzocchi, *Chiesa e potere*, 278.

¹⁴⁴ "Siatene con l'Arcivescovo nostro et fate ogni opera che si habbi, e maxime per la spetialità mia, tale facultà et auctorità, che io possa confessarmi e comunicarmi, come è mio desiderio" (Lorenzo de' Medici, *Lettere*, ed. Nicolai Rubinstein [Florence, 1977-], 4:347-48).

¹⁴⁵ NA M 570 (1461-67), fol. 118r-v, 19 July 1462.

¹⁴⁶ Carte Stroziane, ser. III, 244, fol. 1385, 13 June 1436.

¹⁴⁷ Signori, Legazioni e Commissarie, 12, fol. 141v, 9 May 1450.

Florentine citizens reached epidemic proportions. As their correspondence indicates, Florentine ambassadors in Rome spent more time defending their citizens from these spiritual penalties than on any other aspect of the republic's relations with the Roman curia.¹⁴⁸

As Richard Trexler has noted in his study of episcopal constitutions of Florence and Fiesole (1306-1518), Tuscan church courts claimed exclusive jurisdiction over a broad spectrum of cases: "usury, simulated contracts, *decima* [tithes], matrimonial, beneficial, heresy, simony, sacrilege, and patronage questions."¹⁴⁹ Church tribunals might also accept certain types of cases that could be litigated in secular courts: "the rich buying food cheaply to retail at a profit, false weights, measures, and contents, dowry cases, those involving widows, orphans, and other 'miserabiles personae,' non-payment of pious legacies, perjury, adultery, violations of virgins, sodomy, sacrilege, incest, concubinage, disturbance of the peace, violations of churches, blasphemy, working on feast days. . . ." ¹⁵⁰ The surviving records from Florence and Fiesole indicate that rarely were such cases brought before diocesan courts. Nor apparently did these tribunals try many cases involving marriage or sexual misconduct comparable to those brought before English church courts in the sixteenth century.¹⁵¹ The business of Tuscan ecclesiastical courts in the fifteenth century most closely resembles that of the archdiocese of Besançon in the later sixteenth century, the object of a study by Lucien Febvre.¹⁵² In that capital city of Franche-Comté, debt cases dominated the calendar of the *officialité* of the archdiocese, and the income from this litigation was the largest source of its income.¹⁵³ Tuscan church courts did not profit from this litigation to the same degree, but they did provide important services, in their regulation of credit arrangements, for both the ecclesiastical and the lay communities.¹⁵⁴

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¹⁴⁸ Signori, Carteggi, Responsive Originali, vols. 11-26. See, e.g., *ibid.*, 6r, 14r, 21v, 22r, 25r, 26r, 28r, 45r-v, 72r, 98r, 129r-130v, 169r.

¹⁴⁹ Richard Trexler, *Synodal Law in Florence and Fiesole, 1306-1518*, Studi e testi 268 (Vatican City, 1971), 137.

¹⁵⁰ *Ibid.*; cf. Bizzocchi, *Chiesa e potere*, 284-88.

¹⁵¹ Cf. Martin Ingram, *Church Courts, Sex and Marriage in England, 1570-1640*, *passim*.

¹⁵² Febvre, "L'application," 1-39.

¹⁵³ *Ibid.*, 21-22.

¹⁵⁴ The extant evidence does not permit a comparison of the costs of recovering debts in church and secular courts. Complaints were made about the excessive costs of trying cases in the Merchants Court: "che in cause di pocha importancia et per lo actore e pel reo si sopportono troppo grave spese in favore de' procuratori e loro coadiutori, i quali hanno ridotte le scripture in molta lunghezza, prima per descrivere cose non necessarie anzi assai tediose; secondo, per pagarsi inhumanamente maxime faccendo per carta pochi versi e per verso poche lettere" (Provvisioni, 182, fol. 67v, 20 Dec. 1491). See too Provvisioni, 184, fol. 68r-v, 20 Sept. 1493.

FOREST RIGHTS AND THE CELEBRATION OF MAY: TWO DOCUMENTS FROM THE FRENCH VEXIN, 1311-1318

Andrew W. Lewis

The documents published here pertain to litigation in the French royal courts over use of the wood of the Tour du Lay which arose in 1311 between the Hôtel-Dieu of Pontoise and the commune of Chambly.¹ At issue particularly was the right claimed by the townspeople to exploit the wood in connection with their celebration of the month of May. Joseph Depoin published, a century ago, two other texts concerning this dispute: a memorandum of arguments presented to the Parlement of Paris on behalf of the Hôtel-Dieu in late 1311 or early 1312 and a letter of Philip v from 6 April 1318 by which the king remitted the fine that the commune of Chambly had been assessed for its actions in the affair.² Despite the obvious interest of certain features of the case, the fragmentary character of the published record prevented any detailed investigation of it. The addition of the new documents—the initial complaint by the Hôtel-Dieu and the formal compromise eventually reached by the parties—makes possible a fuller reconstruction of both the substance of the dispute and the method

¹ La Tour du Lay, near Champagne-sur-Oise (Val-d'Oise, ar. Pontoise, cant. l'Isle-Adam). Document no. 2 below (after superscript a) states that the wood was situated between Chambly (Oise, ar. Senlis, cant. Neuilly-sur-Thelle) and Nesles-la-Vallée (Val-d'Oise, ar. Pontoise, cant. l'Isle-Adam). See also Joseph Depoin, ed., *Cartulaire de l'Hôtel-Dieu de Pontoise* [hereafter cited as Depoin], Documents édités par la Société historique du Vexin (Pontoise, 1886), p. 31, no. xlix; p. 111, no. clxiii; pp. 115-16, no. clxiv. Depoin gave no topographical identification. Jean Guerout, *Registres du Trésor des Chartes*, vol. 2: *Règnes des fils de Philippe le Bel*, pt. 1: *Règnes de Louis X le Hutin et de Philippe V le Long* (Paris, 1966), p. 407, no. 2111, identified the site as Launay (comm. Nesles-la-Vallée); but in a letter of 18 December 1987 he concurred in the identification of it as La Tour du Lay. See also Félix Rocquain, *Inventaire des archives de l'Hôtel-Dieu de Pontoise* (Pontoise, 1924), 25.

For advice on numerous points of interpretation and detail I am indebted to Elizabeth A. R. Brown. For assistance during my research I am grateful to Annie Dufour and Alfred Soman. For permission to publish Document no. 1 below I am indebted to the Directors of the Stanford University Libraries. Research in France for this article was supported by a fellowship from the John D. and Catherine T. MacArthur Foundation.

² Depoin, nos. clxiii-clxiv; for the dates of these documents, see nn. 7-8 below.

of its settlement. This reconstruction, in turn, provides a series of vignettes of popular custom, local administration, and the workings of the royal judicial system, all of them with wider implications than the particular case under examination here.

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The wood of the Tour du Lay had been given to the Hôtel-Dieu of Pontoise by Saint Louis in 1261.³ The religious claimed that they had enjoyed uncontested possession of it since then, but it emerges from the dispute that the inhabitants of Chambly had by custom exercised some rights to gather wood and other materials from it.⁴ Indeed, the great discrepancy between the claims of the two sides, the vehemence of the reactions of the communal officials, the length of time required to resolve the conflict, and the degree of mutual accommodation in the final settlement suggest that the issues involved were more complicated and of longer standing than the religious wished to admit.

According to the spokesmen for the religious, in the past the *ministres* of the Hôtel-Dieu, in their goodness and innocence, had allowed the townsfolk to gather flowers and leafy boughs from the wood on feast days during the month of May; but the spokesmen claimed that only twenty persons at a time had gone there for that purpose. On two occasions in early May 1311, however, large crowds from the town—five hundred persons on the first day, more than one thousand on the second—went to the wood at the direction of the communal officials, collecting great quantities of timber and doing extensive damage to the forest.⁵ When the townsmen ignored the protests that they were destroying the property of the poor, the *ministres* complained to the royal *bailli* of Senlis. He, at their request, took the wood and the property of the religious into the king's hand and, by a document delivered to the communal officials, notified the townspeople of his action. By the same document he forbade the townsfolk to return to the wood, and he assigned their leaders a day to answer before him for their actions. Despite this order, the mayor and *jurés* of the commune, through their sergeants, commanded the townspeople, under pain of fine if they disobeyed, to go again to the wood on the following Sunday. Learning of this plan, the religious complained again to the *bailli*, whereupon he, by sealed commission, charged the *prévôt* of Beaumont-sur-Oise to reiterate

³ Depoin, no. xlix.

⁴ Depoin, no. clxiii and Documents nos. 1-2 below.

⁵ For this paragraph, see Depoin, no. clxiii and Document no. 1 below.

the prohibition to the townsfolk and also ordered him to go to the wood on that Sunday to observe what would transpire and to protect the *ministres* from any violence. On the appointed day the *prévôt* went to the wood. Upon hearing the approach of one thousand or more of the people of Chambly, he forbade the townsmen to enter the wood; but they did so notwithstanding and proceeded to cut and uproot trees, doing what the religious estimated to be 100 *livres* worth of damage. Upon this the *prévôt* read his commission to the townsfolk, he and his sergeants seized some of them, and he commanded them for their offense to surrender themselves for internment at the castle of Beaumont. They angrily refused and, shouting their defiance of the *prévôt* and of "his" king, returned to the town. The *prévôt* and his men, greatly outnumbered, could only withdraw; but when the *bailli* of Senlis learned what had occurred, he had some forty of the inhabitants of Chambly imprisoned and held for prosecution.

Seeking both compensation for damages suffered and recognition of their rights for the future, the religious appealed to the king. Perhaps because of their claim to be in the king's safeguard, a royal procurator was soon associated with the procurator for the Hôtel-Dieu, and it was the former who argued the case before the Parlement of Paris.⁶ The Parlement heard the case promptly, but years passed with no formal judgment on the dispute.⁷ Finally, on 6 April 1318, the religious of the Hôtel-Dieu and the mayor and *jurés* of the commune of Chambly concluded an accord by which they resolved their conflicting claims to the wood. On the same day the royal chancery issued letters by which Philip v, to promote the settlement, remitted to the commune the fine which it otherwise would have owed. In June 1318 the royal chancery, at the request of the parties, issued a *vidimus* and confirmation of the accord.⁸

Depoin, in his cartulary of the Hôtel-Dieu of Pontoise, published the two documents relative to this dispute that still remained in the archives

⁶ Depoin, no. clxiii. See also Document no. 2 below (after superscript d), which mentions both the royal procurator and the procurator of the Hôtel-Dieu.

⁷ Depoin, p. 111, dated the brief to the Parlement to 1316; but since that text says that the events had occurred "ou mois de may derrenment passé" (p. 112), the document must predate May 1312. It emerges from the account of the confrontation in court over the townsmen's right to collect stones from the wood (p. 115) that the first hearing of the case had already occurred before the redaction of this document.

⁸ Document no. 2 below and Depoin, no. clxiv. The accord and the royal letter are both dated 6 April "1317," and the royal letter was issued at Paris. Depoin assigned the king's letter to 1317, but since Easter was 3 April in 1317 and 23 April in 1318, either of these years might be possible. That Philip v was at Bourges on 6 April 1317, but at Paris at the end of March and in early April 1318, indicates the latter year as the date; see Guerout, *Registres* 2.1, nos. 937-40, 1507-10, etc.

of the house in the late nineteenth century. The argument of the royal procurator to the Parlement of Paris then existed in what Depoin described as the original. His terminology is deceptive; one might prefer to call the piece the original of the Hôtel-Dieu's copy of that document, the other original doubtless having been deposited with the Parlement. Depoin published from a contemporaneous *vidimus* the letter by which Philip v remitted the fine owed by the commune of Chambly. The original of the king's letter was preserved in the archives of Chambly, from which it eventually passed into the departmental archives of Seine-et-Oise. It still existed there in the mid-nineteenth century but appears to have been lost since that time.⁹ Of the documents printed below, the complaint from 1311 had already passed into a private collection in Great Britain by Depoin's time.¹⁰ The accord of 6 April 1318 appears to be preserved only in the copy of Philip v's *vidimus* of it that was transcribed into a royal chancery register. The sealed original of the pact which was formerly in the departmental archives of Seine-et-Oise appears to have been lost, and the duplicate original or *vidimus* of it which the Hôtel-Dieu of Pontoise must once have possessed seems no longer to have been in the archives of that establishment by the late nineteenth century.¹¹

The first of these new documents was formerly in the collection of Sir Thomas Phillipps. It was acquired by the Stanford University Libraries in 1975 by purchase from a dealer in London. The seller identified it as "apparently contemporary with the events described" and suggested that it was "perhaps original notes prepared for the purpose of the litigation before the *bailly* of Senlis."¹²

The identification can be made more specific. The document, written on parchment in an early fourteenth-century hand, is unmistakably an original,

⁹ See n. 2 above. For the king's letter, see C. M. H. Sainte-Marie Mévil, *Inventaire-sommaire des archives départementales antérieures à 1790. Département de Seine-et-Oise. Série A* (Versailles, 1862), p. 106, A.1434. This *liasse* has since been transferred to the archives of the new *département* of Val-d'Oise; the document is now missing from it.

¹⁰ The document figures neither in Rocquain, *Inventaire* (which was compiled in 1858) nor in Depoin.

¹¹ Sainte-Marie Mévil, *Inventaire-sommaire*, p. 106, A.1434. The document was still in the archives at Versailles in the late nineteenth century, when Frédéric Godefroy examined it; Godefroy, *Dictionnaire de l'ancienne langue française et de tous ses dialectes du IX^e au XV^e siècle*, 10 vols. (Paris, 1881-1902), 10:127, s.v. "marsault." It is missing from the *liasse* that has recently been transferred to the archives of the *département* of Val-d'Oise. The duplicate original or *vidimus* of it which was presumably once owned by the Hôtel-Dieu of Pontoise does not figure in Depoin. Rocquain, *Inventaire*, 26, is too general for one to determine whether this document was in the archives of the Hôtel-Dieu in 1858.

¹² Stanford University Libraries, Department of Special Collections ms 299, purchased from Alan G. Thomas, of London (England); description in Thomas's 1975 Catalogue, no. 181, "Pontoise."

and the text dates it to “ce mois de may lan trois cenx et onze.” Nothing, however, ties it to the *bailli*’s court. It appears, rather, to be the draft of a supplication addressed to the king requesting his judgment of the case.¹³ The survival of such a draft is so unusual that discussion of this point is required. First, the form of the piece, specifically its lack of formulas of address and of any form of authentication, indicates that this was not the document that was actually presented. The corrections to it, moreover, and the fact that the interlinear insertions appear to augment the text, rather than to supply essential words which a copyist had inadvertently omitted, suggest that this was a working draft used in the redaction of another, more complete, version.¹⁴ As to its provenance, the notations in sixteenth-century hands on the dorse of the leaf point to the archives of the Hôtel-Dieu of Pontoise as the source. These notations—“Chambeli,” “Lettres touchant les boys de Lory[?],” and “Les boys du Lay”—and the signs below them, which may represent numerical *cotes*, mark the document as part of a dossier kept by a later possessor of the wood, that is, by the Hôtel-Dieu. The content of the notes suggests the same, for only clerks of the Hôtel-Dieu would have been likely to identify the document by the name of the wood and by that of the other litigant without mention of their own establishment.¹⁵ Finally, the survival of the archives of the Hôtel-Dieu of Pontoise until the twentieth century would have preserved such documents as this until the era when, by whatever channel, they could have entered the antiquarian market and have been available to Philipps.

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Discovery of the supplication revises the date previously assigned for the inception of the dispute. Of at least equal interest, however, is the relation between this piece and the formal plea presented to the Parlement of Paris. The similarities between the two documents are obvious (although it is not clear whether the resemblance is due to a direct textual dependence of the one on the other or to the derivation of both from the same oral accounts); but there are also significant differences between them. In the first text, the allegations are set forth in emotional tones, and they are sometimes imprecisely worded. The plea to the Parlement is juridically more sophis-

¹³ See Document no. 1 below, especially lines 43–48.

¹⁴ See Document no. 1 below, especially at superscript a, d, f, and m.

¹⁵ The incorrect form of the topographical name here read as “Lory” is curious. The notations are in at least two different hands. One may speculate that the first of the clerks who made these notations was unfamiliar with the place and that another clerk later supplied the correct name.

ticated. This contrast is attributable primarily to differences in the level of expertise between the relatively unskilled redactor of the supplication, on the one hand, and the royal procurator, a professional litigator at Paris, on the other; but it is also due in part to the particular stage in the litigation which each document represents. The supplication had initiated the proceeding through its narration of the events of May 1311 and its appeal for judgment by the king. The plea is not a narrative. Instead, it isolates and presents item by item a list of "facts and reasons" alleged in support of the suit by the Hôtel-Dieu.¹⁶

The core of the case as argued by the royal procurator was the same as that outlined in the supplication. Its principal elements were a stress on the king's obligation to protect the Hôtel-Dieu of Pontoise, an exposition of the claim by the house to seisin of the wood, and a fragmented summary of the precipitating incidents. Of these elements, the claim that the house was in the king's safeguard merits attention, not only because it was central to the request that the king hear the case, but also because it entails certain problems of legal definition. For neither the manuscript cartulary of the Hôtel-Dieu of Pontoise nor the original documents of the house which were extant until 1944 contained a specific letter taking the establishment into the king's protection, and such a letter is unlikely to have been discarded or to have been overlooked by the transcribers of the cartulary. Nor, in the supplication, did the religious cite such a letter. Instead, they appear to have based their appeal on the fact that the house had been founded by St. Louis and endowed by the kings of France and on the moral duties that the holy king had bequeathed as a kind of legacy to his descendants. This argument by the religious need not imply disingenuousness on their part; they may in their own minds have equated foundation by the saint with the royal safeguard. What is surprising, and very suggestive of the attitudinal context during the last years of the reign of Philip IV and the first years of his successors, is that their view was allowed to prevail.¹⁷

Certain details which the royal procurator added demonstrate that he had drawn information from supplementary interviews with, or testimony from, the religious or the *prévôt* (or both).¹⁸ There is also a difference in emphasis between the two presentations which may reflect a change in

¹⁶ Depoin, p. 112: "... les fez et les resons qui ensuivent."

¹⁷ For this paragraph, see Document no. 1 below, lines 1-3, and Depoin, p. 112. Note also that the religious were able to make the officials of Chambly incorporate their claims in the accord of 5 April 1318; Document no. 2 below, at superscript b-d.

¹⁸ Note, for example, his knowledge that the religious claimed the right to fine those who illegally used the wood and the details that he gave specifying those to whom the *prévôt* of Beaumont had delivered his commission (Depoin, pp. 112-13).

priorities introduced when the royal lawyer had taken up advocacy of the case. Thus, whereas the supplication had stressed the goodness of the religious and their vulnerability to the violence of the townsfolk, the royal procurator said little about these elements. Instead, he—either for reasons of law or because of his own bias (which he perhaps expected the court to share)—placed greater weight on the townspeople's flagrant defiance of the king and his officials.¹⁹

In addition, the royal procurator responded to counterclaims advanced on behalf of the commune: first, that the townspeople had the right to use the wood and, second, that the commune itself was not justiciable in the case because only individuals, not the corporate entity, had committed the acts.²⁰ Since the *bailli's* prohibition had been delivered to duly constituted representatives of the communal government, and since the mayor and *jurés* had subsequently levied a fine on townsmen who had disobeyed their summons to return to the wood, this second claim was easily refuted. The royal procurator's attacks on the first claim, however, that of customary use of the wood, appear to have been much less convincing. While admitting that the townspeople had, at least often in the past, gathered greenery for May Day at the wood, and that they had exploited it in different ways on other occasions, he denied that they had an established right to do so. As proof he alleged that it was general custom in the king's woods and in those of the kingdom for persons who possessed such a right to make a payment for it, and the commune and its inhabitants had not made such payments to the Hôtel-Dieu of Pontoise. He then argued that even if it could be shown that the townsfolk had on some occasions taken greenery and flowers from the wood for their May Day celebrations, as was done elsewhere in the kingdom, they had no established seisin of the right to such use. And even if they had possessed such a right, he claimed, they would have forfeited it through misuse.

If, as seems likely, part of the disagreement involved not occasional use but the extent to which the townsfolk were entitled regularly to exploit the wood, the royal procurator's case was seriously weakened by a development which appears to have taken him by surprise. For the representatives of the commune declared in court that the townsmen had obtained a judgment upholding their right to collect stones and to cut wood at the site, and, when challenged, they produced the written judgment.²¹ To this

¹⁹ Depoin, p. 114: "... lesquies desobeirent et disoient au prevost quil alast a son Roy et que il noberoient de riens a lui et crierent et huierent apres lui ou vitupere nostre Seigneur le Roy par plusieurs foiz."

²⁰ For this paragraph, see Depoin, pp. 114-15.

²¹ Depoin, p. 115.

the royal procurator could reply only that he had already dealt sufficiently with the issue in his earlier arguments; and he tried to evade the question by asserting that he was not bound to respond on this point until the townspeople had paid the fine that they owed for their disobedience and had restored the wood to its condition at the time when it had been taken into the king's hand.

Faced with such conflicting evidence, and with exaggerated claims from both sides, the Parlement chose not to render a verdict in the case. After submission of written articles by the parties, the court dispatched commissioners to conduct an inquest, and at some point the commune was fined (presumably for its disobedience of the royal *bailli* and *prévôt*); but the court pronounced no judgment on the principal issues.²² Instead, the dispute remained unresolved until a settlement to it was reached through negotiation between the disputing parties, six years after the inconclusive hearing before the court. This settlement was the accord of 6 April 1318 concluded between the mayor and *jurés* of the commune and the officers of the Hôtel-Dieu and soon afterward confirmed by the king.

The accord resolved two issues: the townspeople's use of the wood in connection with their celebration of May, which had been the immediate cause of the dispute, and also the matter, raised before the Parlement, of their right to gather stones and to cut wood there on other occasions.

In respect to the first issue, the religious prevailed in almost every regard. The communal officials acknowledged that the wood belonged to the Hôtel-Dieu and that the inhabitants of Chambly had the right to collect wood from it only on 1 May itself. Even then the townsfolk would be permitted to go to the wood only until the hour of noon, and each person who went was to go only once and on that occasion to take away only one bundle or handful of greenery.

On the second issue, the townsmen seem to have been forced to surrender their claim of the right to cut wood. At least it is not mentioned in the accord. By contrast, a substantial part of their alleged right to gather stones from the wood was upheld. The parties agreed that the townsfolk might collect stones for the purpose of constructing or repairing the streets of the town. If they could find suitable stones without entering areas containing salable wood, they were free to do so without the permission of the religious. If, however, they could not find the stones in those sectors, they were required to ask the representatives of the house at Champagne to admit them to

²² For the inquest and the written articles, see Document no. 2 below, after superscript d. It is possible that Depoin, no. clxiii was a draft or duplicate of the articles submitted on behalf of the Hôtel-Dieu at this time.

the wood. If then the agents of the Hôtel-Dieu did not meet them for that purpose within three days, the townsmen might enter the wood and collect the stones on their own. Even so, the religious were protected against abuse of the wood by the townsmen on those occasions.

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* *

On three topics the documents from the dispute shed sufficient light to warrant particular comment. Most prominent is their record of the celebration of May by the people of Chambly, whose practices varied in some respects from those which have been discussed in the scholarship on the subject. The nature of the observances at Chambly is not entirely clear from these texts. It is certain that it was greenery that the participants collected; for even though in one passage the accord of 6 April 1318 calls the materials "dead wood," the other documents prove that greenery was intended, and the accord itself even specifies which varieties could be taken: birch, aspen, beech, willow, and genista or broom—the first four indicating branches from deciduous trees which would have been covered with new foliage by 1 May; the last a spring-flowering shrub.²³ And the accord states that the people went to the wood "querre du may," a term found in descriptions of such celebrations in France during the thirteenth century and later.²⁴

The organization and purpose of the *quête* at Chambly seem to have been different from those which are better recorded in the literature on French folklore. In other localities, the *quêtes* appear often as activities either of the "youth" of the towns or specifically of the young men (and in the latter case often to have been linked to attentions, flattering or not, toward the young women).²⁵ At Chambly, by contrast, by 1311-18 it was conducted by both sexes and by older persons as well as by the young.²⁶ As to its

²³ Document no. 2 below, after superscript e. See also Document no. 1, line 6 ("petiz rainseaus"); Depoin, p. 114, no. clxiii ("rainssiaus, fleurs pour jeu ou pour esbatement"); and Depoin, p. 116, no. clxiv ("ramos . . . foliatos").

²⁴ For "querre du may," see Document no. 2 below, after superscript a; see also, after superscript d, "estoient alez . . . au may"; and Charles Dufresne Du Cange, *Glossarium mediae et infimae latinitatis*, new ed. (reprint Graz, 1954), 4:189, s.v. "majus" and "mai."

²⁵ See Du Cange, *Glossarium* (as n. 24 above); and the survey in Arnold van Gennep, *Manuel de folklore français contemporain 1.4: Les cérémonies périodiques, cycliques et saisonnières 2* (Paris, 1949), chap. 3, §4 and §5.

²⁶ Document no. 2 below (after superscript a) states that "tous les couchans et leuans habitans . . . poions et deuions aler . . . querre du may" and provides (after superscript e) that in the future "les bourgeois et les bourgeois de nostre ditte commune" may do so. Van Gennep, *Manuel* 1.4.2:1577, found that "la quête des deux sexes ensemble est extrêmement rare, on peut même dire aberrante."

purpose, the only reasons cited are the general expressions “pour jeu ou pour esbatement” and “a cause desbatement”—that is, for some sort of festivity.²⁷ In regard to the scale of the celebration, the evidence is contradictory. For although in 1311 the religious claimed that in the past only groups of twenty persons had gone to the wood, in that same year many hundreds of the townspeople went there, and in 1318 the mayor and *jurés* were still maintaining that all of the inhabitants of the town had customarily gone to collect the *may* and even that they had done so on every feast day and every Sunday during the entire month. If these conflicting statements are to be reconciled, the solution may be the hypothesis that at Chambly the *quête* had formerly been organized by a small group or association (the twenty) but that in or by 1311 it had become an affair of the entire populace. In 1318 it appears as a recognized communal activity regulated by the agreement that only members of the commune itself could participate and that they could gather only one small bundle of greenery per person.²⁸

These documents also provide information about the commune of Chambly. The town was governed by a mayor and eleven *jurés* who were assisted by a sworn clerk; their powers of command and coercion were enforced by their sergeants.²⁹ That the commune functioned as a corporate legal entity is demonstrated not only by its actions in connection with this suit, but also by its possession and use of a “great seal.”³⁰ In addition,

²⁷ Depoin, p. 114, and Document no. 2 below (after superscript e). The texts do not mention a May pole or tree. The fact that in May 1311 the townsfolk were accused of cutting or uprooting whole trees might imply such a practice, although the context does not require that explanation. The documents do not explain the emotion and violence of the townsfolk on both of the *quêtes* in 1311.

²⁸ Note the nature of the compromise reached on this point: although the religious had previously admitted that groups from the town had gone to the wood “v mois de mey a iour de ferie” (Document no. 1 below, line 5), the communal officials agreed to limit the *quête* to a single half-day, in exchange for recognition that the entire commune could go to the wood.

For comparison, note the celebration of the Bois-Hourdy held at Chambly on the first Sunday of Lent, perhaps as early as the thirteenth century (Paul Bisson de Barthélemy, *Histoire de Beaumont-sur-Oise* [Persan, 1958], 193 n. 996).

²⁹ Depoin, p. 113; see also Document no. 2 below. These texts add detail to what was previously known about the municipal government of Chambly. Cf. the communal charter granted by Philip Augustus and also the account submitted by the communal officials in 1260 (Michel Nortier, ed., vol. 4 of *Recueil des actes de Philippe Auguste, roi de France*, ed. Henri-François Delaborde et al., Chartes et diplômes relatifs à l’histoire de France publiés par les soins de l’Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres [Paris, 1979], 504-11, no. 1812; and Joseph de Laborde, ed., vol. 3 of *Layettes du Trésor des Chartes*, ed. Alexandre Teulet et al., Inventaires et documents publiés par la Direction générale des Archives Nationales [Paris, 1875], 549, no. 4636).

³⁰ See Document no. 2 below (after superscript i). Use of a seal by the commune is

the documents show that at least some of the streets in the town were paved with limestone and that the inhabitants were charged with the maintenance and repair of these streets.

More ambiguous are the indications of the size of the population given in the complaints of the religious. The draft of the supplication alleged that in the second incident in May 1311 a crowd of between one thousand and sixteen hundred of the townsfolk went to the wood. The document from the royal procurator more cautiously set the number at "one thousand persons or more," adding that there were so many that "it seemed that it was the whole town or the greater part of it."³¹ Interpretation of these figures is delicate. The texts give no hint as to what proportion of the population normally participated in the *quête*; small children and the aged or infirm probably did not go. The fact that the communal officials considered their position strong enough to charge and fine some of those who had disobeyed their summons may imply that those who had not gone to the wood were a minority of the eligible townspeople. And the case is further complicated by the clause in the accord of 6 April 1318 limiting participation in the *quête* to members of the commune,³² for that provision may imply that outsiders had sometimes joined the townsfolk in this activity. If, however, one takes a figure of between 1,000 and 1,600 persons as representing a substantial majority of those eligible to participate, it is possible to estimate—albeit it very roughly—the size of the communal populace. If the number 1,000 is used as a base and is thought to represent two thirds to three quarters of the eligible persons, a figure of 1,250 to 1,400 is suggested as the minimum size of that group. Similar calculations based on the figure 1,600 would suggest, as the minimum, numbers ranging from 2,000 to 2,150.³³

The relation between these estimates and the total population of the town is speculative. If one takes the number of able-bodied persons (including

documented from as early as 1260 (De Laborde, *Layettes* 3:549, no. 4636. See also *Corpus des sceaux français du Moyen Âge*, vol. 1: *Les sceaux des villes*, by Brigitte Bedos, (Paris, 1980), 174, no. 199.

³¹ Document no. 1 below, line 11, and Depoin, p. 113. Estimates of the sizes of crowds must be treated with caution. It seems unlikely, however, that after consultation with the religious and with the *prévôt* of Beaumont-sur-Oise, the royal procurator would have cited to the Parlement a number larger than the eligible population of the town. Note his avoidance of the larger estimates given in the supplication.

³² Document no. 2 below (after superscript e).

³³ The figure 1,600, however, as the largest of the estimates of the size of the crowd, is highly suspect. Note in this regard the cautionary remarks concerning the reliability of statements made to the Parlement by royal procurators in Joseph R. Strayer, *The Reign of Philip the Fair* (Princeton, 1980), 238.

older children capable of work) to have been roughly 80% of the population and equates that number with those eligible to participate in the *quête*, one may posit for the total population a minimum of 1,600 persons and a maximum of approximately twice that figure. Given the nature of the evidence, however, even these crude figures may be advanced only very tentatively. They may be useful primarily as a corrective to the demographic data supplied by other sources, which, for different reasons, are themselves suspect.³⁴

Finally, the method by which the dispute was settled is noteworthy. For the Parlement never rendered a verdict on the conflicting claims of the privileged status of the Hôtel-Dieu of Pontoise under the royal safeguard as opposed to the customary rights of use alleged, and in large part substantiated, by the townsmen of Chambly. Instead, it appears that the court instructed the parties to come to an agreement on their own. The delay of six years between that date and the conclusion of the pact implies that the parties had difficulty reaching an agreement. In this light, Philip v's remission of the fine otherwise owed by the commune of Chambly is significant. His letter states that his action was intended to produce a resolution of the dispute;³⁵ and the fact that this letter bears the same date as the pact implies that the royal officials used the threat of the fine (which, though assessed, had apparently not yet been collected) to bring pressure on the commune to come to terms with the religious. This circumstance suggests how strong the commune's resistance to the compromise had been. The resigned, but begrudging, tone of several of the passages in the accord of 6 April 1318 suggests the same conclusion.³⁶

³⁴ In this regard, compare the *prise* of the castellany of Beaumont-sur-Oise of 1331, which for Chambly states only that the king had high justice on 40 *feux* there (Louis Douët-d'Arcq, *Recherches historiques et critiques sur les anciens comtes de Beaumont-sur-Oise du XI^e au XIII^e siècle*, Mémoires de la Société des Antiquaires de Picardie, Documents inédits concernant la province 4 [Amiens, 1855], 206). On some of the problems regarding the size of the *feu*, see Guy Fourquin, "La population de la région parisienne aux environs de 1328," *Moyen Age* 62 (1956): 63-64, 82. The figures in the *prise* date from after the famines of 1315-17, but it is unlikely that the demographic losses of those years would have substantially reduced the numbers of households in the towns. It is possible that the figures cited in the complaints of the religious include a large number of persons from outside the commune of Chambly who had joined in the *quête*. These factors notwithstanding, it appears impossible to reconcile the two sets of figures; and if any credence is given to the numbers in the documents from this dispute, the usefulness of the *prise* of 1331 for demographic analysis is seriously impugned.

³⁵ Depoin, pp. 115-16: "... nos finem litibus cupientes imponi ... tractatum habeant pacificum et concordant ad invicem. . . ."

³⁶ In regard to the apparently reluctant acceptance of the terms by the commune, note also the care of the religious to obtain a *vidimus* of the king's letter immediately after the settlement (Depoin, no. clxiv). The *vidimus* is dated 1317, "le dymenche apres la my quaresme," that is, 9 April 1318.

In this context, the unwillingness of the Parlement, in the face of the documents produced by the Hôtel-Dieu, to rule in favor of that house may suggest some otherwise unrecorded sympathy for the claims of the commune. Indeed, the settlement was reached by the parties only after a certain number of the townsmen of Chambly had discredited themselves in the eyes of the Parlement by participating in an uprising against the bishop of Beauvais, a disturbance which required royal intervention in 1317.³⁷ Prior to that time, the court had chosen not to intervene decisively in the case under review; and even after it had changed its attitude, its position was moderate. Far from being rapacious in their quest for money and power on behalf of the king, the judges of the Parlement in this case avoided both. They declined to assume immediate jurisdiction over the dispute, and they remitted the fine which the king might otherwise have collected. In an apparent search for concord between the parties, they deliberately limited the role of the royal court to that of mediator of the conflict and guarantor of its settlement.

DOCUMENTS

1

May 1311

Draft of a complaint addressed to the king against the inhabitants of the commune of Chambly by the religious of the Hôtel-Dieu of Pontoise relative to the repeated and allegedly illegal use of the wood of the Tour du Lay by the townsfolk.

- A. Stanford University Libraries MS 299. Original. Parchment. Damaged, with stain from moisture which obliterates parts of lines 2-13; some of the damaged letters are decipherable with the use of ultraviolet light. Height on left, 299 mm; height on right, 282 mm; width on top, 189 mm; width on bottom, 177 mm. Notations on the dorse in sixteenth-century hands. On the center fold: "Chambeli." On the right-hand fold: "Lettres touchant les boys de Lory[?]" and, in a different hand, "Lez boys Du Lay." The edition below preserves the divisions, punctuation, and capitalization of the original. Obliterated letters which have been supplied from the context are placed within angle brackets.

³⁷ See Edgard Boutaric, ed., *Actes du Parlement de Paris*, ser. 1, 2 vols. (Paris, 1863-67; rpt. Hildesheim, 1975), 2:241-42, no. 5410.

Cited in Andrew W. Lewis, *Royal Succession in Capetian France: Studies on Familial Order and the State* (Cambridge, Mass., 1981), 285 n. 184.

¹La meson dieu de pontoise le chief et tuit li membre dicele du fondemant saint Loys iadis Roy de / ²france sont propre heritage des reaus pour la necessite des pouvres ihesucrist nourir et garder / ³et retenuz en leur especial garde tant comme leur propres choses ...r est einsi que la ville de / ⁴chambli qui encienement u temps passe les genz dicele ville par debonneret<e> et par simplece des ministres / ⁵de ladite meson dieu ont este soufferz a uenir v mois de mey a iour de ferie esbatre et cuillir / ⁶petiz rainseaus es bois que lan cleme les bois de lortia y delez chambli qui sont de ladite meson dieu et du fundemant^a sanz / ⁷ferre dommage de quoi lan se peust par ce uoir de^b nouel ladite ville en ce mois de moy lan mil trois cenz / ⁸et onze les genz dicele se sont esforciez de venir audit bois s<i> esforcielement et si outrageusement que la ou il / ⁹nen soloit venir que xx il en est venu v. cenz et il sont venu par ... et par commendement de ceus qui gardent / ¹⁰la ville et a poine que se defandroit de uenir y et icelle genz meuz[?] oustrageusement et par grant iniquite / ¹¹et le plus par contremte sont venu audit bois a si g...ment con...igne^c comme de x. cenz et xii. cenz de xvi. c. / ¹²et de plus coperent et arachierent dudit bois a leur volonte et tex arbres de quoi lan fait bien iii bu- / ¹³ches lune sus lautre et enporterent chascun son fesel par vne foiz par ii. par iii. non contrectant les requestes / ¹⁴et les prieres deuotes^d des ministres de ladite meson qui en compleignant leur monstroient et disoient quil fesoient / ¹⁵mal et quil destruoient les biens des pouures et venoient contre ladite garde laquele chose les diz ministres / ¹⁶ont raporte au bailli de senliz en soupplient quil y meist conseil. ledit baillif ouy la iuste supplicacion et / ¹⁷les fez merueillables prist et fist prendre en la main du roi nostre seigneur les diz bois les diz ministres / ¹⁸leur marcheanz et touz leurz biens et commanda au mere de chambli et generalment a toute la ville sus quanque / ¹⁹il se poant mesfere envers le roy nostre seigneur quil nentrassent plus es diz bois pour couper ne pour enporter / ²⁰ou pour aucun damage fere en quelque maniere et leur assigna iour pour venir^e amender / ²¹ou pour eus sauuer de ce quil auoient fet. ouy le commandement et receu de par nostre sire le roy comme genz sanz / ²²reson esmeuz de grant felonnie et qui dudit commandement et de ladite deffense auoient retenu copie / ²³par escript et qui par ce em pes deussent estre demourez firent commander par leurs sergant a chascun / ²⁴plus

^a et du fundemant *interlinear insertion* ^b d on line canceled; de *interlinear insertion*

^c Cf. Depoin, p. 113: "... à si grant compoignie"

^d deuotes *interlinear insertion*

^e de venir *canceled*; pour venir *follows it on line*

esforcielement quil nauoient fet^f et a poine de xx s que chascuns venist au bois le dimanche ensui<v>ant. ledit esmouement / ²⁵et lerreur^g venu à la cognoissance desdiz menistres pendant ladite assignacion et ce qui / ²⁶est deuant dit revindrent audit bailli et li denoncierent ce la. ledit bailli donna certaine commission / ²⁷pendant scelee de son scel au preuost de biau mont quil alast oncore aus dites genz et leur commandat / ²⁸estretement de par nostre seigneur le roy quil cessassent sus quanque il se poient mesfere de cors et dauoir / ²⁹et aueques ce li donna commandement^h quil fust celi dimanche audit bois pour regarder ce qui seroit / ³⁰fet et pour garde [*sic*] iceus ministres de force et de violence lequel preuost receue ladite commission fist / ³¹son deuoirⁱ selon la teneur de la commission^j deuant dite. le commandement et la deffense de par nostre dit seigneur et non / ³²contrectant tout ce il alerent auant defet plus outrageusement et plus cruelment quil nauoient / ³³fet deuant a iceli iour de dimanche et ledit preuost present qui de par nostre dit seigneur leur fesoit / ³⁴ladite deffense copèrent arachierent et enporterent armez despees de coignes de sarpes et pour / ³⁵loustrage quil fesoient enisant du bois ledit preuost et ses sergans metoient la main a eus / ³⁶et leur commandoient de par ledit seigneur quil se rendissent en prison ou chastel de biau mont pour la force / ³⁷qui nestoit pas leur de mener les y et icele gent despiteusement et hon deshonneur dudit / ³⁸nostre seigneur le roy et de sa gent ne mie petit et si pres de lui quil le deussent douter huerent / ³⁹crierent a pleine voiz par vne foiz par ii par iii et einsy sen alerent en leur dite ville sanz obeir. / ⁴⁰le preuost et ses serianz sanpartirent quar[?] plus ni porent fere. Ce venu a la cognoissance dudit / ⁴¹baillif il en fist bien prendre et mestre en prison duques a quarante lesquex il recrūt tantost / ⁴²sanz cognoissance de cause et sanz le fet adrecier et a mis le dit fet en deloy et ueut mener / ⁴³par ordre ausi comme partie contre autre. Si supplie lidit ministre par dieu humblement / ⁴⁴audit nostre seigneur le roy comme ses serianz en eue de charite pour lesdiz poures que ceste cause / ⁴⁵soit apelee deuant le chief souuerain et examinee selon^k sa droite nature et venchie / ⁴⁶selon^l sa merite a fin que exemple i soit pris que ladite meson lesdis ministres et leurs biens^m des ore en auant puissent demourer em pes a touziours et que ceu quil ont perdu a tort et de nouuel leur / ⁴⁸soit Restitueⁿ a plein et amende audit nostre seigneur —————

^f quil nauoient fet *interlinear insertion* ^g latr on line canceled; lerreur follows it on line
^h lan oncore canceled; commandement follows it on line ⁱ deuor corrected to deuoir
^j de la commission *interlinear insertion* ^k seron corrected to selon
^l seron corrected to selon ^m et leurs biens *interlinear insertion* ⁿ rendu on line canceled; followed by Restitue on line

July 1318

Vidimus and confirmation by Philip v of letters of the mayor, the *pairs*, and the *jurés* of the commune of Chambly, dated 6 April 1317/18, notifying the accord reached between themselves and the religious of the Hôtel-Dieu of Pontoise relative to use of the wood of the Tour du Lay.

A. Original, formerly at Versailles, Archives départementales, Seine-et-Oise, A 1434 (Maison de Monsieur, Chambly), now missing from that *liasse* at Cergy, Archives départementales, Val-d'Oise; presumed lost.

B. *Vidimus* by Philip v, dated July 1318; presumed lost.

C. Paris, Archives nationales JJ 56, fol. 209r, no. 483, from B. Contemporary copy. The edition below preserves the punctuation and capitalization of C.

a. Sainte-Marie Ménil, *Inventaire-sommaire des archives . . . Département de Seine-et-Oise. Série A*, p. 106, from A. — b. Godefroy, *Dictionnaire* 10:127, s.v. "marsault," from A. — c. Guerout, *Registres* 2.1:406-7, no. 2111, from C. — d. Godefroy, *Dictionnaire* 1:700, s.v. "boul," from C. — e. Ibid. 10:127, s.v. "marsault," from C.³⁸

Rubric: *Approbatio concordie facte inter maiorem pares et Juratos communitatis de chambly ex vna parte et magistrum fratres et sorores domus dei de pontisara ex altera parte.*

Philippus dei gratia francorum et nauarre rex. Notum facimus vniuersis tam presentibus quam futuris nos infra scriptas vidisse litteras forma que sequitur continentes A tous ceulz qui ces presentes lettres verront et orront, le maire les pers et les Jurez de la commune de chambly salut. Comme plait feust meuz en la court nostre seigneur le Roy Entre relegieuses gens^a le maistre la prieuse freres et seurs et le couuent de le [*sic*] maison dieu de pontoise dune part. Et nous maires pers et Jures dessus dits dautre

^a gent corrected to gens

³⁸ The orthography in the short excerpt printed in b ("Mort boiz, bous, tramble, fou, marsaus et genestres") differs from that in C (see below, after superscript e); but Godefroy's transcriptions are not always exact (in e he gives "fou" and "genextre" where C gives "feu" and "genestres"; cf. d).

part. Pour la cause de ce que nous disions ou nom de nostre ditte commune Et des habitans en icelle que tous les couchans et leuans habitans en ycelle poions et deuions aler chascun an des le jour de la feste saint phelippe et saint Jake premier Jour de may tant comme le mois dure chascun Jour festes et diemenches querre du may et tant de fois chascun jour comme il nous plaisoit et apporter en la ville de chambly en vn bois que on dist et appelle lortyay qui est et apartient a le [sic] maison dieu dessus ditte et des appendances de la mayson, que la ditte maison dieu a a champaignes pres de biaumont le quel bois est et siet entre chambly et neele. le quel bois fu donne a le [sic] ditte maison dieu a la fondation dicelle de monseigneur saint loys leur glorieus fondeur la gent de laditte maison dieu ou nom deulz^b et pour leur ditte maison disans et soustenans le contraire pour ce que la ditte maison dieu est en lespecial garde^c de nostre sire le Roy et fondee et douee des Rois de franche si comme dessus est dit le procureur de le [sic] maison dieu dessus ditte ou nom de eulz et pour leur ditte maison.^d Et pour ce que nostre gent de nostre ditte commune estoient alez trop efforcement au may sicomme le procureur de le [sic] ditte maison dieu disoit. appella a guarant le procureur dou roy nostre sire et pour garder la ditte maison en leur juste possession, et de toutes iniures et violences le quel procureur du roy fu adioint par le Roy avec le procureur de laditte maison pour garder et soustenir la ditte cause Et si entama le plait entre les parties pardeuant les mestres dou parlement Et le debat pris en le [sic] main du Roy nostre seigneur et commissaires donnes sus les articles baillies par escript et acordes entre les dittes parties sur ce. Nous pour eschier matere de plait et pour demourer en bonne pais et en bon acort envers les bonnes gens de laditte maison dieu diceli descort et dautres avons fait composition et acort a la gent de la ditte maison au nom de nostre ditte commune^e en icelle en la forme et en la maniere qui sensuit. Premièrement que les bourghois et les bourgoises de nostre ditte commune habitans et demorans en icelle et non autres porront aler au bois de lortyay dessus dit qui est au dis religieus le premier jour de may tant seulement jusques a heure de miedi et non outre ycelle heure et y pourra aler chascune personne vne seule fois la ditte journee jusques a leure dessus ditte et porra chascuns apporter plain son pung de mort bois a cause desbatement. Et se il estoit trouue quil apportaissent ou copaissent plus gros Rainsiaus ne quil y alaissent plus dune fois le dit jour, ne quil copaissent fors ce quil apporteroient les dis Relegieus ou leur gens porroient prendre ceulz qui ce feroient et punir

^b dieu canceled; deulz follows it on line

^c grasce canceled; garde follows it on line

^d A word or words appear to have been omitted here

^e habitans et demourans after commune canceled

de leur meffait et contraindre a amende selonc la coustume du pais. Et est a entendre mort bois boulz. tramble feu marsaus et genestres. Et avons acorde que nous ne aucuns de nous compaignons ne ferons ou temps a venir crier ne faire proclamation publique de aler au dit bois au Jour dessus dit ne commandement general ou especial ne apparamment ne occultement. Item. pour nourir pais et amistie entre nous maire et pers et jures dessus dis et les relegieus de laditte maison dieu avons acorde sus l'article des gres prendre es bois dessus dis qui sont as dis relegieus pour le [sic] refection et reparation des chauchies communes de la ditte commune de chambely, des quix gres nulle question na este en parlement, que pour le commun pourfit de la ditte ville. Cest assavoir ke pour les chaucies communes de la ditte communaute nous porrons prendre des quariaus hors bois vestu et marcheant en quelconques lieu que ce soit sans prendre congie au diz relegieus tant comme mestiers sera pour les dittes chauchies communes tant seulement. Et se il estoit ensi que nous ne pouissiens trouuer aisement gres hors du dit bois marcheant et vestu nous seriens tenu daler ou denvoyer a champaignes en lostel de laditte maison dieu et requere a ceulz del hostel de laditte maison dieu et requere a ceulz del hostelf qu'il nous venissent liurer lieu en leur bois dedens .iii. jours pour baillier et prendre quariaus pour les dittes chauchies communes. Ou se ce non seit ni venoient dedens les trois jours apres ce qu'il en avroient este requis de nous, Nous porions aler a icelle fois sans congie et prendre des quariaus. Et tous jours ensi en continuant en cas semblables se li dis relegieus quant requis en seroient de par nous ni envoient dedens le terme dessus dit. Et est acorde de nous que se les dis relegieus nous liuroient lieu en leur bois vestu et marcheant que ce soit au greigneur pourfit et ou mendre damage des parties. Et se il avenoit que nous y alissiens sans congie ou cas ou quel les dis religieus seroient sommes souffisaument denvoyer audit lieu et il ni envoiaient dedens les trois jours, Nous porions aler prendre des gres au mendre damage que nous porions des dis religieus. Et se il auenoit que celi ou ceulz que nous y envoierions pour brisier les quarriaus brisast ou brissassent en lautre lieu que monstre leur seroit. les dis relegieus ou leur gent les porroient^g punir et contraindre a amende Et le briseur parti nous devons leuer les quariaus dedens lan ensuiuant. Ou autrement les relegieus lan passe les porroient leuer et emporter et tourner par deuers eulz. Et sont fet les acors dessus diz sauf toute la Justice qui est et appartient des dis lieux et bois au dis relegieus en toutes choses sauf^h ce que nous i puissons riens demander ne

^f et requere a ceulz del hostel repeated in B
it on line ^h Sic; for sans?

^g pouuient canceled; porroient follows

reclamer ou temps a venir. Et quant a toutes les cosesⁱ dessus dites et chascune dicelles fermement tenir et acomplir en la maniere qui dessus est dit et deuise. Nous ou nom de nostre ditte commune et chascun de nostre ditte commune obligons tous les biens de nostre ditte commune et de chascun dicelle a justicier par lagent nostre sire le roy. ou par quelcunque autre justice souz qui il seront trouuez pour fere ces lettre de point en point entermer sommierement et de plain. Et pour rendre tous frais et tous damages que lagent de la ditte maison dieu y porroient auoir et encourre pour quelconque cause que ce soit. Et supplions homblement a tres excellent prince nostre chier seigneur phelippe par le [*sic*] grace de dieu rois de france que en ceste presente lettre il veuille metre et prester son assentement et confermer en ses lettres. En tesmoing de ce nous maires, pers et jurez dessus diz avons mis en ces presentes lettres le grant scel de nostre ditte commune de chambly ache que les choses dessus dictes toutes et chascune par soi soient plus estables et perpetuellement gardees de nous et de tous ceulz de nostre commune dessus ditte en temps present et a uenir. Ce fut fait lan de grace mil. trois cens et dis et sept. .vi. jours en aрил a ce temps andriu pouchin maires pierres alibrans lorens li boruier^j Bertant de montigni Jaques le macecier. Guillaume de peray Pierres dorgemont. Johan de saint martin. Johan pointe. Robert lestelier. Girart le iolour. Michel en art pers et Jures de la dite commune de cambli. Nos autem quia de pacificando super predictis eisdem partibus super hoc cum iusticia supplicantibus licentiam concessimus specialem predicta omnia et singula Rata et grata habentes ea volumus laudamus approbamus et tenore presentium confirmamus saluo in omnibus iure nostro et eciam quolibet alieno. Quod vt firmum et stabile permaneat in futurum presentibus litteris nostrum fecimus apponi sigillum. Actum apud sanctum germanum in laya. anno domini millesimo trecentesimo decimo octauo, mense Julii.

Per dominum Regem.

Perellis.

Collatio facta est

Southwest Missouri State University.

ⁱ coses interlinear insertion

^j barruier follows, canceled on line

DRESS AS MEDIATOR
BETWEEN INNER AND OUTER SELF:
THE PIOUS MATRON
OF THE HIGH AND LATER MIDDLE AGES*

Dyan Elliott

The history of Christian practice is replete with examples in which an individual's ascetic standards are wildly at odds with the way in which society expects her or him to behave. Indeed, one of the functions of saints' lives is to dramatize how frequently social and celestial expectations are at variance. Because clothing is an essential tool in social semiotics—an invaluable shorthand for describing the wearer's condition to the outer world¹—the way in which a saint chooses to dress is an expression of this discrepancy. Of course, this is true for saintly individuals of either sex. But the additional complexities of a woman's situation, especially the married woman, are of particular interest, since her pious practices were shaped in response to a more complicated chain of command. Instead of just being directly answerable to God or to the Church, she was subordinated to masculine authority generally and to her husband in particular. Moreover, the average husband was by no means indifferent to his wife's apparel since this was one of the most visible statements of his own social standing. Thus an already multivalent symbol in saints' lives is provided with yet another layer in the lives of married female saints. In these cases, clothing might operate as a simple expression of the wife's subordination and all that it implied. Yet it also functions more complexly in the production of new social meanings, as a mediator between the spiritual state of a married woman and her social *persona*.

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¹ A general introduction to the meaning behind clothes is provided in J. C. Flugel, *The Psychology of Clothes* (London, 1933; rpt. 1966), which, though dated, is still useful. For a fascinating look at the significance of artistic depictions of clothing in constructing reality, see Anne Hollander, *Seeing Through Clothes* (New York, 1975; rpt. 1980). Also, for a more popular treatment, see Alison Lurie, *The Language of Clothes* (New York, 1981).

BIBLICAL AND PATRISTIC BACKGROUND

The *locus classicus* for female dress is undoubtedly the Pauline corpus. Paul's first letter to the Corinthians was written in response to certain gnosticizing elements in the community, one of the effects of which was to permit women to speak in public assemblies and probably to assume certain leadership functions.² Paul responded by laying down a strict hierarchy of submission of Christ to God, man to Christ, and woman to man.³ He does this by reminding his audience of the Jewish requirement that women's heads be covered as a symbol of their subjection (1 Cor 11:4-15). The rationale provided is twofold: the first is based on the order of creation of Adam and Eve (Gen 2:22-23); the second argues the same position by drawing attention to woman's dangerous sexuality. Paul makes an oblique reference to what is commonly interpreted as the earlier and original version of humanity's Fall: the seduction of human women by fallen angels (Gen 6:1-8).⁴ Underlying both of these expressed rationales, however, is the concern that the symbols which differentiate the sexes are retained.⁵ The third generation of Christians who were responsible for the production of the pastoral epistles were more conservative still, placing considerable emphasis on female modesty in attire and female subjection: woman's perilous seductiveness and necessary subordination would, however, be redeemed in childbearing and this, in turn, would constitute her salvation (1 Tim 2:9-15).

Patristic writers were quick to exploit the female dress-sexuality-subordination nexus implicit in the above texts, but the most proficient exponent

² See Elisabeth Schüssler Fiorenza, "Word, Spirit and Power in Early Christian Communities" in *Women of Spirit*, ed. Rosemary Ruether and Eleanor McLaughlin (New York, 1974), 37; and Constance Parvey, "The Theology and Leadership of Women in the New Testament," *ibid.*, 33.

³ 1 Cor 11:3; cf. Eph 5:22-24; Col 3:18.

⁴ 1 Cor 11:10. For this reading of Gen 6:1-8, see Norman Powell Williams, *The Ideas of the Fall and of Original Sin* (London, 1927), 10-29. Except for this one allusion, Paul unequivocally opts for the Adam and Eve story of the Fall, and it is his authority which more or less dislodges all competing theories in the Christian tradition. Yet elsewhere, Paul obliquely refers to the apocryphal tradition whereby Eve's seduction by the serpent resulted in the Fall (2 Cor 11:2-3; cf. 1 Tim 2:14; Williams, *Ideas of the Fall*, 113-22; John Bugge, *Virginitas: An Essay in the History of a Medieval Ideal* [The Hague, 1975], 9-10).

⁵ For an alternate reading of 1 Cor 11:2-16 in which it is argued that the female head-covering is not a symbol of subjection but of authority (albeit sexually distinguished from male authority), see Robin Scroggs, "Paul and the Eschatological Woman," *Journal of the American Academy of Religion* 40 (1972): 297-302. Needless to say that Scroggs rejects 1 Cor 14:33b-36 as genuinely Pauline. Likewise, Wayne A. Meeks denies that Paul is advocating female subjection. According to Meeks, Paul is simply concerned that the symbols which distinguish male from female be retained ("The Image of the Androgyne: Some Uses of a Symbol in Earliest Christianity," *History of Religions* 13 [1973-74]: 199-202).

was undoubtedly Tertullian (d. ca. 225). Two of his works treat the question of female attire directly. *On the Veiling of Virgins* is an energetic response to the optimistic belief that a consecrated virgin had been liberated from both her truant sexuality and her subordinate role. Such women felt justified in appearing in Church with their heads uncovered—shamelessly, in a non-pejorative sense.⁶ Tertullian is quick to denounce this custom, and in doing so he appeals to Paul. Although Paul only addresses women generically in 1 Cor 11:5-16, Tertullian applies Paul's remarks to the special case of virgins, denying that they escape either the subjection to men or the symbol of this subjection.⁷ He also develops the implications of the angelic fall, a mere allusion in Paul, reasoning that it was probably virgins who provoked this celestial disaster and thus such subversive beauty must be veiled. The other treatise, *On the Apparel of Women*, further establishes the link between female subordination and dress by equating all women with Eve. Women should therefore dress as penitents for their shared sin and resulting subjection.⁸ He further blames the fallen angels for having been the first to introduce artificial beauty aids, as is suggested by the apocryphal Book of Henoch.⁹

Underlying both Paul and Tertullian's directives is the belief in the correspondence between the inner and the outer person—but such a conviction is hardly peculiar to them. Peter Brown has shown that this was a classical bequest, and he cites John Chrysostom to demonstrate how the early Church continued to assimilate this standard. The believer "should be discernible by everything, by his gait, by his look, by his garb, by his voice. . . . Not that display, but that the profit of the beholders may be the rule by which we form ourselves."¹⁰ Both Tertullian and the unveiled virgins in question are in deep agreement that clothing does reflect inner realities; their difference concerns the extent to which virginity alters what Tertullian interprets as woman's inalterably sexual nature. Yet Tertullian's very zeal for female modesty undermines his consistency.¹¹ *On the Veiling*

⁶ See Peter Brown, *The Body and Society: Men, Women and Sexual Renunciation in Early Christianity* (New York, 1988), 80-82.

⁷ *On the Veiling of Virgins* 4 and 7 (trans. S. Thelwall in vol. 4 of *The Ante-Nicene Fathers*, ed. A. Roberts and J. Donaldson [Buffalo, 1887], 29-30, 31-32).

⁸ *The Apparel of Women* 1.1.1-2 (trans. Edwin A. Quain in *Tertullian: Disciplinary, Moral and Ascetical Works*, The Fathers of the Church, vol. 40 [New York, 1959], 117-18).

⁹ Ibid. 1.2.1, pp. 118-19.

¹⁰ "The Saint as Exemplar in Late Antiquity," *Representations* 2 (1983): 5.

¹¹ Cf. F. Forrester Church who remarks that in Tertullian's works, faith, hope, and charity are replaced by modesty, chastity, and sanctity ("Sex and Salvation in Tertullian," *Harvard Theological Review* 68 [1975]: esp. 91-93).

of *Virgins* reasons that God "is as capable of beholding whatever is done in secret, as He is just to remunerate what is done for His sole honour." In *On the Apparel of Women*, however, he argues to the opposite purpose. To the woman who maintains, at least hypothetically, that "I do not need the approval of men. For I do not ask for the testimony of men: it is God who sees my heart," he answers, "It is not enough for Christian modesty merely to be so, but to seem so, too. So great and abundant ought to be your modesty that it may flow out from the mind to the garb, and burst forth from the conscience to the outer appearance. . . ."¹²

Tertullian's fluctuation between two very different lines of argumentation demonstrates the tensions resulting from efforts to exact a close correspondence between the inner and outer person. Indeed, his later devotee, Jerome (d. 420), often exploits the potential disjunction between the two *personae* as a vehicle of anti-feminist satire when he accuses women of engaging in pious masquerades that conceal their inner essence.¹³ Although Tertullian generally upholds the solidarity of inner and outer selves, his deference to modesty at all costs splinters this unity, rendering God the ultimate judge of the interior.

This resolution, touched on by Tertullian, is even more carefully outlined by Augustine (d. 430) in his letter to the highly born matron, Ecdicia. Ecdicia took a vow of chastity precipitously, without her husband's approval. Eventually, however, he agreed to pledge chastity, only to fall into adultery to revenge himself upon his wife. What had she done? She gave away most of her property without his permission to two wandering monks and, perhaps more important, she assumed an unauthorized widow's apparel.¹⁴ In other words, with the dissolution of the carnal bond, she proceeded to dress and act as though he were dead.

Ecdicia's predicament is important as it unites the clothing-sexuality-subordination nexus with the problem of inner and outer selves. Like the virgins whom Tertullian reprimanded, Ecdicia assumed that sexual abstinence altered her subordinate role and she accordingly advertised her newly won status through dress. In either case, change in costume was a spiritually ambitious move. The virgins were, in effect, denying the pernicious effects of the Fall, while Ecdicia's claim to widowhood moved her up a notch

¹² *On the Veiling of Virgins* 13, p. 35; *On the Apparel of Women* 2.13.1 and 3, pp. 147-48.

¹³ See his characterization of the pious widow (Ep. 22.16, trans. W. H. Fremantle in *St. Jerome: Letters and Select Works*, A Select Library of Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers, vol. 6 [New York, 1893], 28) and his imaginative recreation of the tantalizing use of ascetic clothing by a Gaulish virgin (Ep. 117.7, *ibid.*, 218).

¹⁴ Ep. 262 (trans. Sr. Wilfrid Parsons in *St. Augustine: Letters*, vol. 5, Fathers of the Church, vol. 32 [New York, 1956], 261-69). See Brown, *The Body and Society*, 403-4.

with respect to celestial merit from the mere 30-fold reward of the matron to the 60-fold reward of the widow.¹⁵ Not only did Ecdicia's efforts to externalize her inner state correspond to the classical ideal of conformity between inner and outer, it also corresponded with current Church practice, which increasingly sought to separate "the holy," particularly holy women, from the profane world. Although Tertullian resisted the virgins' efforts to distinguish themselves from others by abandoning the veil, he is nevertheless concerned lest Christian women be mistaken for "gentiles" or, worse still, harlots.¹⁶ In the post-conversion Church, we find the elaboration of ritual and distinct garb to demarcate women consecrated to God.¹⁷ On a practical level, however, a married woman's compliance in costume with the most highly esteemed models of Christian asceticism also operates as a challenge to the husband's control. In the event that a husband was sympathetic to or even shared his wife's spiritual inclinations, as did Ecdicia's husband, he might still be reluctant to advertise the fact, as a man had a closer association with the world of rank and power, and this was also represented through dress.¹⁸

How do Church authorities deal with this conundrum? Augustine's comments regarding clothes deserve to be cited in full at this point as his answer sets the tone for later commentators.

There is a certain matronly costume, appropriate to one's position in life, distinct from the widow's garb, which may be fitting for married women of the faith and which does not offend religious decorum. If your husband did not want you to lay this aside so that you might not flaunt yourself as a widow during

¹⁵ Jerome was particularly influential in popularizing this maxim in the West (i.e., that virgins receive 100-fold reward in heaven, widows 60-fold, and the married a mere 30-fold). It was based on a peculiar reading of Mt 13:8. See *Adversus Jovinianum* 1.3 (*St. Jerome: Letters and Select Works*, 347-48); Ep. 48.2-3, *ibid.*, 67; Ep. 123.9, *ibid.*, 233. Augustine used it as well (see *Holy Virginity* 45.46, trans. John McQuade in *St. Augustine: Treatises on Marriage and Other Subjects*, The Fathers of the Church, vol. 27 [New York, 1955], 200). For the development of the tripartite ecclesiological model, see F. Chatillon, "Tria Genera Hominum: Noe, Daniel et Job," *Revue du moyen âge latin* 10 (1954): 169-76; and Georges Folliet, "Les trois catégories de chrétiens: Étude de ce thème Augustinien" in *Augustinus Magister*, Congrès international Augustinien, Paris, 21-24 Septembre 1954, Communications, 2 vols. (Paris, 1954), 2:631-44.

¹⁶ *The Apparel of Women* 2.11.1-2, pp. 144-45; 1.4.2, p. 123.

¹⁷ See Raymond d'Izarny, "Mariage et consécration virginale au IV^e siècle," *La vie spirituelle*, Supp. 6 (1953): 92-118; Brown, *The Body and Society*, 356.

¹⁸ A celebrated example from the early Church may be cited here: although Melania the Junior's husband, Pinian, eventually subscribed to his wife's regimen of chastity and asceticism, it was only at her explicit behest that he eventually relinquished his silk shirts (*The Life of Melania the Younger*, trans. Elizabeth Clark, Studies in Women and Religion 14 [New York and Toronto, 1984], 32).

his lifetime, I think he should not have been driven to the scandal of a quarrel with you, with the result of more harm from your disobedience than good from any act of self-denial. For, what is more incongruous than for a woman to act haughtily toward her husband about a humble dress, when it would have been more profitable for you to display beauty in your conduct to him rather than stand out against him in a matter of mourning garb. . . .

But, if he who had begun with you to prize the great good of continence had wished you to wear the dress of a wife, not a widow, he would not thereby have obliged you to put on an unbecoming adornment, and, even if he had forced you to it by some harsh requirement, you could still have retained a humble heart under proud attire.¹⁹

Augustine refuses to dignify Ecdicia's unauthorized costume by interpreting it as submission to God's will as opposed to the husband's. Indeed, he is at pains to avoid such a conflict in authorities whenever possible. Earlier in the letter he chastened Ecdicia for her ascetical ambitions by emphasizing that God rewards certain pious intentions as though they were realized.²⁰ This symbolic credit to the account of intentionality is intended to preserve both the husband's authority and the wife's spiritual integrity. For Augustine, a wife's true humility is most securely demonstrated by a rejection of an ostentatious humility which runs counter to her husband's will. In Ecdicia's case, this can only be achieved by the effacement of her own will through an act of submission. Augustine's assessment of the situation is in line with his view, expressed elsewhere, that the more subject a woman is, the more chaste she is.²¹ He also allows for the contingency that the husband could make his wife wear sumptuous clothes, and he even sanctions this perversity. His position is in sharp contrast with that of Tertullian who argued with some confidence against the idea that any Christian husband would require beauty, let alone artificial beauty, from his wife.²²

¹⁹ Ep. 262 (*St. Augustine: Letters*, 267-68).

²⁰ "How much more fitting would it have been for you, to whom subjection was more appropriate, to yield to his will . . . since God would have taken account of your intention to observe continence which you gave up to save your husband from destruction" (*ibid.*, 262-63). Cf. *The Good of Marriage* 6.6-7.6, where he distinguishes between the initiating party in the sex act, who is guilty of a venial sin, and the complying party, who is not (trans. Charles T. Wilcox in *St. Augustine: Treatises on Marriage and Other Subjects*, 16-17).

²¹ See Sermon 1(51).21 (trans. Thomas Comerford Lawler, *St. Augustine: Sermons for Christmas and Epiphany*, Ancient Christian Writers 15 [London, 1952], 49), where he is again addressing the question of sexual abstinence in wedlock.

²² *The Apparel of Women* 2.4.1-2, pp. 134-35.

THE HIGH AND LATER MIDDLE AGES

In the early Middle Ages, Augustine's realm of intentionality tended to recede, a factor reflected in both the Barbarian codes and their spiritual counterparts, the Penitentials.²³ Levels of sanctity were generally assessed like crime—that is, on the basis of an external standard. The world in which saintly matrons participated was a heroic world which, like the epic, required bold action.²⁴ A change in costume generally signified entrance into the religious life and this change was often effected in the face of the husband's opposition. And yet it is clear from a number of celebrated examples, such as the Merovingian Radegund (d. 587) or the Anglo-Saxon Aethelthryth (d. 679), that churchmen often collaborated with these women in their escape from marriage.²⁵ The women in question were highly connected, often better Christians than their husbands, and better potential patrons of the Church.²⁶ Moreover, the institution of marriage was by no means as stable as it was to become, nor had the Church as yet surfaced as its chief protector.

All of this changed over the course of the eleventh and especially the twelfth centuries for a number of reasons which would create a more nuanced relationship between the Church and its lay charges, husband and wife, the inner and outer self, and ultimately clothing and its wearer. From the twelfth century onward, canon law gave new impetus to masculine authority by pronouncing upon hitherto nebulous subjects, such as the extent of the husband's interference in his wife's pious observances.²⁷ The revival in interest

²³ See John F. Benton, "Consciousness of Self and Perception of Individuality" in *Renaissance and Renewal in the Twelfth Century*, ed. Robert L. Benson and Giles Constable (Cambridge, Mass., 1982), 263-95, esp. 272, 284-85, 288. There are many indicators of such a change. With respect to marriage, intentionality gave ground to consummation as the determining factor in the formation of the bond (James A. Brundage, *Law, Sex, and Christian Society in Medieval Europe* [Chicago, 1987], 130). For a detailed analysis of sexuality and marriage in penitential literature, see Pierre J. Payer, *Sex and the Penitentials: The Development of a Sexual Code, 550-1150* (Toronto, 1984); idem, "Early Medieval Regulations Concerning Marital Sexual Relations," *Journal of Medieval History* 6 (1980): 353-76; cf. Brundage, *Law, Sex*, 152-68.

²⁴ See especially Suzanne F. Wemple, *Women in Frankish Society: Marriage and the Cloister, 500 to 900* (Philadelphia, 1985), esp. 149-65.

²⁵ *Acta Sanctorum* (Paris and Rome, 1865-) [= *AA SS*], August 3:68-70; *Bede's Ecclesiastical History* 4.19, ed. Bertram Colgrave and R. A. B. Mynors (Oxford, 1969), 390-93.

²⁶ For an analysis of how churchmen courted the patronage and supported the cults of holy women during the Barbarian kingdoms when Christianity was not yet entrenched, see Jane Tibbets Schulenburg, "Sexism in the Celestial Gynaeceum—from 500 to 1200," *Journal of Medieval History* 4 (1978): 117-33.

²⁷ See Gratian, C.33 q.5 c.11-20 for his assessment of masculine dominance. His sources largely refer to the familiar order of creation in Genesis and the Pauline argument regarding the veiling of women. For a summary of the far-ranging implications of the husband's

in intentionality made society more sensitive to matters of conscience and discrepancies between the inner and outer person, which in turn, sets up a more interesting dynamic between clothing and its wearer.²⁸ The rise of the Western standard of living and the increase in luxury items corresponded to an increasing differentiation between social groups, and these different groups were set apart by clothing. As a result, dress became something of a Western obsession: the issue is handled lovingly by *romanciers*,²⁹ harshly by royal and municipal legislators, and becomes a more exacting symbol of rank and power than ever before.³⁰ These factors should be set against the background of changing patterns in piety: the pressure of lay piety and the "sacramentalization" of marriage permitted the emergence of married sanctity from the end of the twelfth century. A majority of these new saints were women.³¹

authority in the high Middle Ages, see A. Esmein, *Le mariage en droit canonique*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1929-35), 2:2-7. In a recent paper entitled "The Emergence of the Husband in Twelfth-Century Law" (delivered at the Fordham University's conference, "Gender and Society II: Men in the Middle Ages," 9-10 March 1990), Susan Mosher Stuard emphasized the way in which a husband's control over his wife's property was further solidified.

²⁸ See pp. 302 ff. below

²⁹ One need go no further than the work of Chrétien de Troyes to perceive this attention. *Erec and Enide* is of particular interest in that Erec raised Enide from poverty, presented her to the court in rags as his betrothed, and then requested that the queen and her ladies dress Enide. A ritualized dressing follows which features detailed descriptions of sumptuous garments (see vv. 1479-1690 in *Arthurian Romances*, trans. W. W. Comfort [London and New York, 1914; rpt. 1968], 20-22).

³⁰ In England, sumptuary legislation was generated by the crown, while in most countries, such laws were a municipal concern. See, for example, Frances Elizabeth Baldwin, *Sumptuary Legislation and Personal Regulation in England*, Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science, ser. 44, no. 1 (Baltimore, 1926); cf. Kent Roberts Greenfield, *Sumptuary Law in Nurnberg: A Study in Paternal Government*, Johns Hopkins Studies in Historical and Political Science, ser. 36, no. 2 (Baltimore, 1918).

For a useful description of costume according to estate and an analysis of the significance, see Michèle Beaulieu, "Le costume, miroir des mentalités de la France médiévale (1350-1500)" in *Mélanges offerts à Jean Dauvillier* (Toulouse, 1979), 65-87, esp. "Les Réprouvés," 77-81. For discussions that turn on the use of sumptuary legislation as a mechanism for marginalizing certain groups, see Leah Otis, *Prostitution in Medieval Society* (Chicago, 1985), 79-80; for Italy, James A. Brundage, "Sumptuary Laws and Prostitution in Late Medieval Italy," *Journal of Medieval History* 13 (1987): 351-52; for England, Baldwin, *Sumptuary Legislation*, 34-5. Also see Diane Owen Hughes's fascinating analysis of the way in which ear-rings were used to differentiate both Jews and prostitutes from the rest of society and how the aristocratic assumption of ear-rings transformed this symbol ("Distinguishing Signs: Ear-rings, Jews and Franciscan Rhetoric in the Italian Renaissance City," *Past and Present* 112 [August, 1986]: 3-59, esp. 38-55).

³¹ See André Vauchez, *La sainteté en Occident aux derniers siècles du moyen âge* (Rome, 1981), 317-18, 410-14, 428-31; idem, *Les laïcs au moyen âge* (Paris, 1987), 190-92; Donald Weinstein and Rudolph M. Bell, *Saints and Society: Two Worlds of Western Christendom, 1000-1700* (Chicago, 1982), 220-25.

The Husband's Authority

In the High Middle Ages, any tentative coalition between the Church and pious married women broke down from the point of view of the external forum. The ecclesiastical control of marriage strengthened the husband's power over his wife, if only by formalizing it. Only with regard to the conjugal debt, the sexual rights over one another's body, are the husband and wife in a position of equality.³² And yet, the female dress-sexuality-subordination nexus was to be strengthened by increased emphasis on the conjugal debt. But, apart from the theoretical equality of the debt, in all other areas—even those touching personal piety—the wife must yield to the husband's will. Hence when Gratian cites the example of Ecdicia, he does so to affirm that a vow of chastity, once given, cannot be withdrawn. But he also uses her plight to emphasize the husband's complete control over the wife's vow of abstinence, whether this touches food, dress, or alms. Even if the husband sins in recalling a vow that he at one time permitted, the wife must obey *propter condicionem seruitutis* (C.33 q.5 dpc 11). Indeed, the husband's authority acts retrospectively on vows his wife made prior to marriage, suggestive of an omnicompetence which not only shapes his wife's present and future but even penetrates her past (C.33 q.5 c.11 and dpc; C.33 q.5 c.16).

Such an endorsement of the husband's almost absolute power not only had the potential for restricting the way in which the wife exercised her piety but might even hinder the progress of her soul. For evidence of this, one can look to the genre of pastoral manuals, which were produced to assist priests in the hearing of confession, thus serving as partial bridges between theory and practice.³³ Thomas of Chobham's *summa* (ca. 1215), for example, teases out some of the harsher implications of Gratian's *dictum* and hence counsels priests accordingly on the assignation of penance to married female parishioners:

³² See Elizabeth M. Makowski, "The Conjugal Debt and Medieval Canon Law," *Journal of Medieval History* 3 (1977): 99-114; Brundage, *Law, Sex*, 241-2; Esmein, *Le mariage* 2:7-21.

³³ For an introduction to this genre, see Pierre Michaud-Quantin, *Sommes de casuistique et manuels de confession au moyen âge*, *Analecta mediaevalia Namurcensia* 13 (Louvain, 1962); idem, "Les méthodes de la pastorale du XIII^e au XV^e siècle" in *Methoden in Wissenschaft und Kunst des Mittelalters*, ed. Albert Zimmermann, *Miscellanea mediaevalia* 7 (Berlin, 1970), 76-91; and Leonard Boyle, "Summae Confessorum" in *Les genres littéraires dans les sources théologiques et philosophiques médiévales*, Actes du Colloque international de Louvain-la-Neuve, 25-27 mai 1981 (Louvain-la-Neuve, 1982), 227-37. The emphasis placed on annual confession by the publication of *Omnis utriusque sexus* at Lateran IV sped up the multiplication of confessors' manuals, especially the more comprehensive variety known as the *summae confessorum*.

Likewise it ought to be noted that a woman is in the power of her husband and cannot make any vow of abstinence, nor can the priest impose some special fast on her for penance, because the husband can alter the vow if his wife vowed some fast, or if the priest imposed a fast on her beyond the common fasts of the year, because the wife is bound to keep her body in such a state proper and acceptable for rendering the carnal debt to her husband.³⁴

Canonists generally censured any ascetic fervour that impeded the fulfillment of the conjugal debt in either husband or wife. A wife, however, had no other control over her husband's asceticism—even if his behaviour incited scandal.³⁵ But equality with respect to the debt begins to break down with Chobham's concluding statement, which seems to imply that attention to her physical appearance is yet another of the wife's obligations. The authorities make no mention of a parallel responsibility on behalf of the husband.

The evolution from Patristic times should be noted here. For St. Paul and Tertullian, female sexuality was something that must be controlled through dress because it represented a potentially dangerous temptation. Augustine provided a kind of bridge by potentially empowering the husband to make his wife assume sumptuous clothing. Now female sexuality is explicitly harnessed via dress in service of the conjugal debt.

The relation between the wife's appearance and the marriage debt is even more explicitly tackled by John of Freiburg in a later pastoral manual (1298). When posing the interesting question of whether or not a woman sins mortally when adorning herself, he answers that, while on the one hand female dress promotes lasciviousness, a woman can nevertheless licitly adorn herself to prevent her husband from falling into the sin of adultery in the event that his wife's appearance repels him. In support of this claim, John cites 1 Cor 7:34, in which St. Paul points out that the wife thinks of worldly

³⁴ "Item, notandum quod mulier que est in potestate viri non potest facere aliquod votum de abstinence, nec potest sacerdos iniungere ei in penitentia aliquod speciale ieiunium, quia potest vir votum immutare si uxor eius vovit aliquod speciale ieiunium, vel si sacerdos iniunxerit ei ieiunium preter communia ieiunia anni, quia mulier tenetur conservare corpus suum in tale statu ut sit habile et placabile ad reddendum viro debitum carnale" (*Thomae de Chobham Summa confessorum*, ed. F. Broomfield [Louvain and Paris, 1968], Article 4, q.VIIa, c.11, p. 157).

³⁵ Cf. the following: "Mulier ergo non potest facere votum abstinence sine voluntate viri. Sed nunquid vir potest abstinere sine vxoris consensu? Sic, . . . licet ergo coniuges sint pares quantum ad votum continentiae, non tamen quantum ad votum abstinence. & hoc intelligo de quolibet voto in quo non sit vxori praeiudicium quo ad carnale debitum, quamvis ex illo voto oriatur scandalum mulieri: vt in hoc sit differentia inter virum & mulierem" (*Glossa ordinaria* C.33 q.5 c.11 ad v. *Nisi auctor*, *Decretum Gratiani* [Paris, 1561]).

things and of how to please her husband—even though the Apostle would have found it rather unsettling to have his own resignation to so lamentable a truth transformed into an apology for female vanity.³⁶ The acknowledgment that a certain level of female finery was, perhaps, required for the husband's sake was widespread. This rationale is not only used by Elizabeth of Hungary, as will be seen below, but it is also present in lay catechistic works such as Robert of Brunne's *Handlyng Synne*.³⁷ In short, while self-adornment was by no means morally neutral to medieval moralists, a wife might nevertheless be expected to adorn herself in order to arrest a husband's fickle libido.³⁸

Despite the vocal show of support for the husband's authority and the *sub voce* concern for his spiritual well-being at the expense of the wife's, there was a conflicting tendency at work. Certain canonists recognized that concessions had to be made to a woman's spiritual progress as well. Vows of abstinence, which include renunciation in dress and almsgiving, might be essential to an individual's salvation: it would be wrong to rule out this line of expiation for anyone. And so the absolute quality of Gratian's pronouncement was modestly effaced by a minority of commentators, ultimately undercutting the husband's authority. The *Glossa ordinaria* presents the very un-Augustinian proposition of the wife's disobedience in the fulfillment of certain vows not authorized by the husband, as it is more important to please God than man. Moreover, the husband has no right to oppose pious vows that do not promote scandal. Potentially scandalous vows, with which the husband is within his rights to interfere, would be for the wife to sleep in a thin nightdress, to attend Matins (which occur in the middle of the night) regularly, or to fast while the husband dines.

³⁶ John of Freiburg, *Summa confessorum* (Rome, 1518), bk. 3 tit. 34 q. 284, fol. 214. John, a great popularizer of the liberal Dominican theologians, was following Thomas Aquinas in this argument (*ST* 2-2.169.2; cf. Brundage, "Sumptuary Laws," 344-45). See Leonard E. Boyle, "The *Summa confessorum* of John of Freiburg and the Popularization of the Moral Teaching of St. Thomas and of some of his Contemporaries" in *St. Thomas Aquinas: Commemorative Studies*, ed. Armand A. Maurer et al., 2 vols. (Toronto, 1974), 2:245-68; rpt. in Boyle, *Pastoral Care, Clerical Education and Canon Law, 1200-1400* (London, 1981).

³⁷ "A weddyd wyfe may atyre here
 þat here husbunde loue noun but here;
 For hys loue she may hyt do,
 But for none ouper mannys so"

(F. J. Furnivall, ed., *Early English Text Society*, o.s., 119 [London, 1901], ll. 3335-38, p. 116).

³⁸ Orpheus de Cancellariis and San Bernardino, both Franciscans, rejected Thomas's moderate position and held that female finery constituted a mortal sin (Diane Owen Hughes, "Sumptuary Law and Social Relations in Renaissance Italy" in *Disputes and Settlements: Law and Human Relations in the West*, ed. John Bossy [Cambridge, 1983], 80).

A benign vow would be if the wife pledged a denarius for the love of God or "some such thing."³⁹

The glossator's examples of a benign vow are somewhat representative: solicitude for a wife's spiritual well-being seems to peak over the question of alms for reasons that are probably not wholly disinterested. Moreover, almsgiving and the renunciation of ostentatious dress are closely related issues in female saints' lives, with each posing parallel tests to the husband's control. (Indeed, the two challenges were sometimes joined when women frequently distributed their clothing as alms.) The wife's relative confinement to the private sphere and her position as manager of the domestic economy designated her as the traditional almsgiver, yet her capacity to distribute alms independently was theoretically curtailed by the husband's control of property. Raymond of Peñafort's *summa* (ca. 1234), for example, notes that she could not dispose of her dowry, which was under the husband's control, but could distribute her "paraphernalia"—a term which usually designated the wife's clothing, trinkets, and articles of personal adornment. But Raymond is quick to add that this would only pertain in regions where this female resource was customary.⁴⁰

The wife's paraphernalia already creates a wrinkle in the otherwise smooth monolith of the husband's control. But Raymond is prepared to go further than this, and he is not alone. According to Raymond, a wife should dispense moderate amounts of food stuffs from the household pantry, although technically belonging to the husband. But in the event that the wife might be prohibited from doing so, Raymond empowers her to distinguish between what a husband says with his mouth and what he holds in his heart. A

³⁹ C.33 q.5 c.11 ad v. *Vota* and *Nisi auctor*; the author of the gloss cites Huggucio as the originator of this question. Nevertheless the glossator ultimately resists this position. Raymond of Peñafort likewise agrees with Gratian's more rigid assessment (*Summa de poenitentia et matrimonio* 1.8 [Rome, 1603], 64-65). Returning to the question briefly in book 3, Raymond even goes so far as saying "Sed adhuc obiicitur de vxore, quae potius obedit viro, quam Deo, dum ad mandatum viri frangit votum, quo se astrinxerat Deo. . . . Ad hoc dic, quod vxor in talibus obediendo viro, obedit etiam Deo, quia Deus vult ipsam ita facere; dum tamen, doleat in animo, quia votum non potest implere" (3.4, p. 383). John of Freiburg likewise agrees with Gratian, though he makes note of the opposition (*Summa confessorum* bk. 1 tit. 8 q. 31-32, 35-37, fol. 21). William of Rennes (between 1240 and 1245), who was Raymond of Peñafort's glossator, denies that a husband can revoke his wife's vow (*Summa de poenitentia* 1.8 ad v. *Possunt contrauenire, vel irritare*, pp. 64-65) as does Robert of Flamborough (d. 1213)—whatever the vow may be, unless the husband reserves the right specifically (*Liber poenitentialis* 2.3.20, ed. J. J. F. Firth, *Studies and Texts* 18 [Toronto, 1971], p. 69).

⁴⁰ *Summa de poenitentia* 2.9, p. 252; Cf. John of Freiburg, *Summa confessorum* bk. 2 tit. 8 q. 28, fol. 95. In practice, however, the paraphernalia was by no means sacrosanct. In England, for example, a husband could alienate it during his lifetime, but it could not be alienated by his executors after his death (F. Pollock and F. W. Maitland, *The History of English Law*, 2d ed., 2 vols. [Cambridge, 1898; rpt. 1952], 2:405, 430).

husband may issue what sounds like a complete prohibition against almsgiving, but this may only be to guard against his wife's excessive charity. If the husband is in earnest, however, she has no choice but to obey.⁴¹

Thus a perilously fine distinction is being advanced: a discreet distribution of the wife's paraphernalia is permissible, but a change in dress is not; household provisions may be distributed furtively, but the practice is forbidden in the face of the husband's discovery and direct opposition. The writers who ran this gentle line of interference with the husband's authority were not only seeing to the needs of the poor but potentially enriching the coffers of the Church, without unduly disturbing the husband's creature comforts.⁴²

The quasi-duplicitous advice to female almsgivers may have sponsored but did not support female disobedience. The clear limits placed upon a wife's spiritual vocation remain unaltered. In essence, a woman can woo God by serving her husband: submission is construed as the wife's most active service because the husband is placed in the position of God's viceroy. For this reason, many if not most theorists denied a woman the right to make any formal or informal vow without her husband's permission. If the husband were whimsical, his permission could be withdrawn and the wife left without recourse. Moreover, a certain level of female adornment was not simply acceptable but perhaps even advisable in order for a wife to continue to attract her husband.⁴³ These distinct boundaries render deliberate transgressions all the more conspicuous.

⁴¹ *Summa de poenitentia* 2.9, p. 252. Raymond's glossator states explicitly that a wife does not sin if she gives secretly (*ibid.*, ad v. *Displicet, & scandalizatur*). Cf. John of Freiburg, (*Summa confessorum* bk. 2 tit. 8 q. 28, fol. 95), who echoes both Raymond and his glossator and further includes Albertus Magnus's view that if the wife has no paraphernalia, she can give alms from her own earnings. If she has no earnings of her own, he encourages her to give moderate supplies of household food. Considering the tenor of this advice, it is little wonder that excessive charity in the face of familial opposition figures so prominently in the lives of pious laywomen (see Caroline Walker Bynum, *Holy Feast and Holy Fast* [Berkeley, 1987], 233-34).

⁴² A similar philosophy informed the Church's urgings that women be permitted to write a will. See Michael M. Sheehan, "The Influence of Canon Law on the Property Rights of Married Women in England," *Mediaeval Studies* 25 (1963): 109-24, esp. 112-13, 118-20. For a Machiavellian view of the Church and its hegemony over the testament, see Jack Goody, *The Development of the Family and Marriage in Europe* (Cambridge, 1983), esp. 66-67, 99-102.

⁴³ Jean de Joinville's *Life of St. Louis* demonstrates how Louis, a good, God-fearing Christian, absorbs the standard view of the husband's authority but assumes more responsibility for remaining attractive to his wife than is strictly required. In one incident when the royal vessel was in danger at sea on the return from the Holy Land, Joinville suggested to the queen that she vow to undertake a pilgrimage in return for the ship's safety. She answered "I would do so very willingly, seneschal, . . . but the king has such a curious temper that if he knew I had made that promise without his knowledge he would never

Instances of women flouting masculine authority through dress, as did Eclicia, are ubiquitous in the lives of married saints in the High and late Middle Ages and cut through all classes. In the life of the noble St. Catherine of Sweden (d. 1381) there is a suggestive tale that recounts how the Virgin Mary appeared to Catherine and her worldly sister-in-law, smiled at the former, and sneered at the latter. When the shocked sister-in-law asked the reason for this, the Virgin told her that she should look to Catherine for advice in dress and religious observances. Soon after, Catherine's furious brother Carl, who was head of the family and ever hostile to his sister's vocation, accused Catherine of making his wife into a Beguine.⁴⁴

The sudden swing from opulence to ascetic renunciation seems particularly pronounced in late medieval Italy. Not only does female piety reach a high-water mark under the influence of the two great mendicant orders,⁴⁵ but the ostentatious opposite is present as well. Luxury items were more pervasive than in the rest of Europe, and therefore, as a result of efforts to control expenditure, there was more sumptuary legislation in Italy than in other areas. Moreover, the vast majority of these laws addressed women exclusively.⁴⁶

The life of the blessed Luchina of Sonchino (d. 1480) exemplifies the move from hard-won riches to voluntary poverty.⁴⁷ Poor, but beautiful, she is represented in her *vita* as possessing the greatest youthful passion for self-adornment with ornaments and cosmetics. Her efforts were not without effect, since she soon escaped poverty through marriage to a young noble who was a member of one of the city's principal houses. So great

let me go." On another occasion, Louis concurred with Joinville's view that a man ought to dress well, but he added his own reasons: "so that your wives will love you all the more and your men have more respect for you . . ." (trans. M. R. B. Shaw in *Chronicles of the Crusades* [Harmondsworth, Middlesex, 1963], 2.17, p. 322; 1.1, p. 171).

⁴⁴ "Non es contenta, quod te beguinam feceras, quin etiam uxorem meam tecum beguinam faceres et fabulam populorum?" (*AA SS*, March 3:505). The term "Beguine" was often used as a "catch-all" for any pious, extra-regular woman. As to the dress of the Beguines "proper" (i.e., those who lived in communities in the industrial Low Countries), an official habit was slow to evolve, but they were generally dressed in the gray-brown of undyed wool (Ernest W. McDonnell, *The Beguines and Beghards in Medieval Culture* [New Brunswick, N.J., 1954], 128-29).

⁴⁵ See Vauchez, *Sainteté*, 243-49.

⁴⁶ Hughes, "Sumptuary Law and Social Relations," 84-88; Brundage, "Sumptuary Laws," 346-51; also see Charles de La Roncière, "Tuscan Notables on the Eve of the Renaissance" in *A History of Private Life II: Revelations of the Medieval World*, ed. Georges Duby, trans. Arthur Goldhammer (Cambridge, Mass., 1988), 299-300. According to Brundage, the desire to restrict class mobility was a later addition to these laws, which is the opposite of the situation in northern Europe.

⁴⁷ Giovanni Michele Pio, *Delle vite de gli hvomini illustri di s. Domenico* (Bologna, 1620), 446-48.

was her love for him, in fact, that she changed her first name from Margherita to Luchina, which was his name. After years of worldly life, her spiritual conversion was prompted by a sermon on the emptiness of physical beauty: her immediate reaction was to lower her adorned head and cover it with a veil. Very soon after, Luchina took the habit of the Third Order of St. Dominic. Although the habit was assumed with her husband's permission (indeed, in theory it could not be otherwise) he was so hostile to this gesture that the friars urged her to resume normal dress in order to preserve domestic harmony.⁴⁸ Her compliance was begrudging at best: she compensated by wearing a narrow black tunic, a leather belt, and shoes without stockings, and by informally following the rule. She further matched action to appearance and began performing servile, domestic chores. Luchina's privileged social position had been entirely contingent on her marriage. Her dramatic denial of the advantages that had accrued to her through marriage thus presents a most striking challenge to masculine authority. This, in turn, elicited a violent resistance from her husband, who frequently abused her verbally and physically. A bourgeois example of a parallel phenomenon is evident in the life of St. Villana Bottia (d. 1361). Her conversion was prompted by the appearance of demons in the mirror in place of her bedizened reflection: an immediate assumption of steel breast plates, hair shirt, and vile dress, tantamount to a total rejection of her rich bourgeois station in life, is what followed.⁴⁹

Effective statements in dress could likewise be made on a subtle level, most particularly through footwear, or lack thereof—clearly evoking the practice of public penitents who were guilty of the most flagrant crimes and hence forbidden shoes.⁵⁰ The noble Hedwig of Silesia (d. 1243) and

⁴⁸ The necessity of the husband's consent is stated in both rules for the orders of penitents of the two great mendicant orders. See "Regola di Munio da Zamora per i penitenti di san Domenico (1285)" 1.3, ed. Giles Gerard Meersseman, *Ordo Fraternalitatis: Confraternite e pietà dei laici nel medioevo*, 3 vols., Italia Sacra, Studi e Documenti di Storia Ecclesiastica 24-26 (Rome, 1977), 1:401; cf. "Memoriale dei Penitenti (1221-1228)" 33, *ibid.* 1:393. Pio's *vita* reports that at the time that Luchina was forced to abandon the habit, she had not as yet taken the profession of faith (*De gli hvomini*, 446). Since the assumption of the habit is used as a metaphor for profession in the rule, however, it seems more likely that this explanation was developed in order to protect Luchina and her advisors from any accusations of irregularity.

⁴⁹ *AA SS*, August 5:865-66. Other celebrated examples of Italian women who underwent this kind of swing are Angela of Foligno (d. 1309; *AA SS*, January 1:189); Margaret of Cortona (d. 1297, *AA SS*, February 3:304); Catherine of Genoa (d. 1510, *vita* in *Vie et doctrine*, trans. Pierre Debongnie [Brussels, 1959], chaps. 1-2, pp. 9-13). Margaret of Cortona was not actually married but for nine years was the mistress of a nobleman, to whom she bore a child.

⁵⁰ Cf. Robert of Flamborough, *Liber poenitentialis* 5.2.245, 5.2.253, 5.8.260, pp. 212, 218, 223.

the royal Cunegund of Poland (d. 1292) were reprimanded by both husband and confessor for not wearing sandals, even in winter.⁵¹ A minimalist approach is especially effective for the poor, who had less opportunity to publicize personal abasement through dress. This is true of the peasant saint who goes by the name Margaret *Discalceata* or “the Barefoot” (d. ca. 1395). Her husband’s strenuous and physically abusive resistance to her unshod penitence was primarily occasioned by his understandable fear that the neighbours would think that he did not have sufficient means to buy his wife shoes.⁵²

The combined efforts of husbands and clergy to restrain female ascetic dress are generally centred around domestic discipline. But occasionally secular officials associate themselves with this regulatory effort—a rather peculiar intervention in view of their more usual preoccupation with controlling female expenditure. And yet, judging from the example of the mercurial Margery Kempe (d. after 1438), her ascetic dress was clearly more disturbing than her tasteless finery. In the worldly stage of her career, Margery flaunted her extravagant dress, to the disgust and chagrin of her neighbours and the shame of her conventionally pious husband. Moreover, when the latter gently reproached her, she answered him angrily, reminding him of his inferior birth and what was due to her as his social superior. She gives us a vivid account of her multicoloured costume with its jagged tippets and the golden pipes adorning her head.⁵³ After her conversion to a more spiritual life, Margery went to the other extreme. She eventually convinced her husband to take a vow of chastity and then received directions from Christ on how she should dress, presumably as a representation of her anomalous state. In addition to white clothes, symbolic of virginity, Christ also told her that she was to receive a mantle and a ring, symbols of widowhood, from the bishop of Lincoln.⁵⁴ Margery’s husband, John,

⁵¹ *AA SS*, October 8:232; July 5:701-2.

⁵² *AA SS*, August 2:117.

⁵³ *The Book of Margery Kempe*, ed. Sanford Brown Meech and Hope Emily Allen, *Early English Text Society*, o.s., 212 (London, 1940), chap. 2, p. 9. As it happens, the reign of Richard II was known for its luxury and ostentation among most classes, and laxness in both enacting and enforcing existing sumptuary laws. A change of feeling occurred in the reign of Henry IV, but the king was reluctant to act on the Commons’ petitions to parliament for the enforcement of sumptuary laws. Otherwise Margery might have been fined for her ostentation. Chastisement was instead left to the moralists of this period (Baldwin, *Sumptuary Legislation*, 61-70, 78-83; G. R. Owst, *Literature and Pulpit in Medieval England*, 2d ed. [New York, 1961], 390-403).

⁵⁴ *The Book of Margery Kempe*, ed. Meech and Allen, chap. 15, pp. 32-36. On the symbolism behind Margery’s clothes, see Gunnell Cleve, “Semantic Dimensions in Margery Kempe’s ‘Whyght Clothys,’” *Mystics Quarterly* 12 (1986): 162-70. Also see Hope Allen’s discussion in *The Book of Margery Kempe*, 273 n. 32/17.

was alive at the time, and in the course of their visit to Lincoln, the couple made their pledge of chastity into the bishop's hands. Even so, Margery was neither widow nor virgin and, not surprisingly, the bishop was reluctant to condone the said costume for Margery, despite her assurances that these garments were in accordance with Christ's explicit directions. This singular apparel, once assumed, was a magnet for trouble. On one occasion, Margery's profuse weeping over the Crucifixion attracted the attention of the mayor of Leicester, who accused her of being "a false strumpet, a false Lollard, and a false deceiver of the people," and had her imprisoned. When he acted as her accuser at her trial on the following day, he said "I will know why thou go-est in white clothes, for I trow thou art come hither to have away our wives from us, and lead them with thee."⁵⁵ His association of heresy with Margery's chastity in marriage, a fact which can be gleaned from her white clothes, is unmistakable here.

Although some canonical authorities permitted a wife to pursue an unauthorized, pious vow, provided it did not give rise to scandal, the examples above suggest that the wife's day dress has clear potential for scandal—not just for the husband, but for the community at large. An ambivalent status, as communicated through dress, was, perhaps, more of an outrage than immodesty: a married woman should not dress like a virgin, a widow, or a repentant murderess. Such aberrations are in deep disagreement with those Christian currents that encouraged deference to the "outer" and with the mentality which developed and nurtured sumptuary legislation. As Frances Baldwin puts it: "Since each man's place in life was thus fixed by social custom, it was heresy for him to attempt to rise above his class either in his manner of living or in his dress."⁵⁶ Spiritual social climbing was every bit as offensive as its secular counterpart and was mistrusted by clergy and laity alike. Indeed, Margery Kempe's stormy career is a vivid testimony to the aversion her *déracinée* appearance inspired in both factions. Members of the clergy were hardly insensible to the spiritually, if not physically, shabby figures they often cut beside these ascetic-minded wives, and this awareness undoubtedly contributed to their marked apprehension of extra-regular, pious laywomen.⁵⁷ In fact, the Church had anticipated the

⁵⁵ *The Book of Margery Kempe*, ed. Meech and Allen, chaps. 46, 48, pp. 111-12, 116; trans. W. Butler-Bowdon (New York, 1944), 98, 103. For a look at Margery from the point of view of her disruptive influence, see Anthony Goodman, "The Piety of John Brunham's Daughter of Lynn" in *Medieval Women*, ed. Derek Baker, Studies in Church History, Subsidia ser. 1 (Oxford, 1978), 347-58.

⁵⁶ Baldwin, *Sumptuary Legislation*, 23.

⁵⁷ Margery, for example, was constantly holding up an unflattering mirror to members of the clergy at all levels. She probed the conscience of an adulterous monk; reproved the monks of Canterbury for their reception of her; told the bishop of Lincoln, after he refused

State in the development of its own sumptuary laws to control the clergy's inappropriate extravagance.⁵⁸ When one further reckons that the clergy was supposed to buttress the husband's authority over the wife and remembers the timidity of the confessors' manuals with respect to the wife's pious vow, it is only to be expected that women received little help from their religious advisors in matters that turned upon dress. We have seen the bishop of Lincoln's reaction to Margery's attire, despite her husband's apparent complicity. The unshod saints were continually urged by their spiritual advisors to resume wearing shoes, probably as much for health as for seemliness. The confessor of Francesca Romana (d. 1440) forbade her to put aside the signs of her rank, lest she offend her husband.⁵⁹ Indeed, Luchina of Sochino was counselled to relinquish the tertiary habit, even though such advice went against the letter of the rule, which only permitted a change in costume in the event that the wearer embraced a higher vocation, that is, abandoned the world for the cloister.⁶⁰

Dressing for the "Debt"

What was at stake in the issue of dress? Clearly clothing only became so important and malleable an instrument of self-expression when European society became more variegated, thus relying more heavily on externals to preserve its complex distinctions. Moreover, the wife's appearance played

to sanction her special costume, that he feared more for his reputation than for God's love; and criticized the archbishop of Canterbury for the unruliness of his retinue, etc. (*The Book of Margery Kempe*, ed. Meech and Allen, chaps. 12, 13, 15, 16, pp. 26-27, 27-28, 35, 37). See Clarissa W. Atkinson, *Mystic and Pilgrim* (Ithaca, 1983), 110-11. Jacques de Vitry is aware of the hostility evoked by the Beguines' extra-regular status and bitterly denounces "quosdam impudicos et totius religionis inimicos homines, praedictarum mulierum religionem malitiose infamantes" (*Vita Mariae Oigniensis* in *AA SS*, June 5:548). Also see the legislation presented by G. G. Meersseman restricting the extent of association of the mendicants with pious laywomen (*Dossier de l'ordre de la Pénitence au XIII^e siècle*, Spicilegium Friburgense 7 [Fribourg, 1961], 21-22, 118-22). St. Bonaventure is especially vocal about the Franciscans' mistrust of the tertiaries, especially the female ones, and the necessity of divesting themselves of all future responsibility towards them (*ibid.*, 123-25). Also see Laurentio C. Landini, *The Causes of the Clericalization of the Order of Friars Minor*, Diss. in Facultate Historiae Ecclesiasticae Pontificiae Universitatis Gregoriana (Chicago, 1968), esp. 105-6, 121, 123-26, 140-43.

⁵⁸ See, for example, D.41 c.5, 8 and C.21 q.4; also see C.-J. Hefele and H. Leclercq, *Histoire des Conciles*, vol. 5, pt. 2 (Paris, 1913), Lateran IV, c. 16, 1346-47.

⁵⁹ Lady Georgiana Fullerton, *The Life of St. Francis of Rome* (New York and Montreal, 1885), 20. According to Caroline Bynum, religious authorities likewise attempted to moderate female fasting (*Holy Feast and Holy Fast*, 238-44).

⁶⁰ Meersseman, "Regola di Munio da Zamora" 5.14, *Ordo Fraternalitatis* 1:403. See n. 48 above.

an essential role in maintaining both her husband's and her natal family's status.⁶¹ Even so, for the women discussed above, humble clothing does not merely signify the rejection of rank or even class in an attempt to follow the *vita apostolica*. It bears repeating that the ecclesiastical emphasis on dress with regard to the conjugal debt sharpened the sexual content of clothing, especially for women. By manipulating their costume, the women in question were undoubtedly rejecting a station in life, which was closely aligned with their husband's position, but this rejection, on another level, seems to have been prompted by a sexual conflict. In other words, clothing is simply the gravel covering the true battle ground, which is the body.

The way in which clothing both interacted with and expressed the holy woman's sexuality becomes clearer with an understanding of the female spiritual vocation. A number of studies have recently indicated that a commitment to chastity almost invariably coincides with female piety in the Middle Ages.⁶² Certainly this is the case with each of the women discussed in this paper. Moreover, dress communicates the holy woman's priorities and what she acknowledges or is permitted to acknowledge as the highest set of claims placed upon her. The way the husband expects his wife to dress, on the other hand, is a statement not only of his social position but also of his sexual expectations. Hence dress, as a metaphor for sexual tension between pious wife and more worldly husband, but ultimately between the wife's inner and outer *personae*, runs through the lives of many female saints like a leitmotif.

St. Elizabeth of Hungary (d. 1231), Landgravine of Thuringia, was one of the fortunate few who moved with remarkable grace between conflicting

⁶¹ Many scholars have noted the close association of women, dress, status and honour, especially in Italy. See, for example, Christiane Klapisch-Zuber, "The Griselda Complex: Dowry and Marriage Gifts in the Quattrocento" in *Women, Family and Ritual in Renaissance Italy*, trans. Lydia Cochrane (Chicago, 1985), esp. 224-41; Diane Owen Hughes, "Invisible Madonnas? The Italian Historiographical Tradition and the Women of Medieval Italy" in *Women in Medieval History and Historiography*, ed. Susan Mosher Stuard (Philadelphia, 1987), 26-27, 48-49; Hughes, "From Brideprice to Dowry in Mediterranean Europe," *Journal of Family History* 3 (1978): 288-90; Julius Kirshner, *Pursuing Honor While Avoiding Sin: The Monte Delle Doti of Florence* (Milan, 1978), 4-15. Cf. Susan Mosher Stuard, "Women in Charter and Statute Law: Medieval Ragusa/Dubrovnik" in *Women in Medieval Society*, ed. Stuard (Philadelphia, 1976), 200-201.

⁶² The predisposition to chastity begins early and many of the married female saints are married against their will. According to Weinstein and Bell, a woman's vocation to a higher spirituality usually begins at an earlier age than a man's. At around seven, when the girl-child first becomes aware of her biological potential as wife and mother, this discovery is often marked by an infantile vow of chastity (*Saints and Society*, 42-44). For the incompatibility of an active sex life and a spiritual, particularly mystical, calling, see Atkinson, *Mystic and Pilgrim*, 176; see also Judith Hoch-Smith and Anita Spring's introduction to *Women in Ritual and Symbolic Roles* (New York and London, 1978), 15-16.

spiritual and temporal standards. Her apparent flexibility was dependent on her husband's cooperation: Ludwig was extremely sympathetic to both her charities and her asceticism. Nor is this complicity dismissed as negligible by Elizabeth's eulogists. A chapter in Theodoric of Thuringia's *vita* (written 1289) is entitled "Quomodo libertate sibi concessa a principe utebatur," thus making Elizabeth's largesse contingent on Ludwig's tolerance.⁶³ Even so, episodes revolving around Elizabeth's clothing are especially prominent in her life, clearly signifying the tension between her responsibilities as wife and her private conception of her identity. After a profound meditation on the Crucifixion, Elizabeth was said to have put aside sumptuous clothing, with the exception of state occasions when duty dictated otherwise.⁶⁴ More often than not, however, Elizabeth would distribute her state clothing as alms—a charity which gave rise to a number of picturesque crises.⁶⁵ On one occasion when her husband learned that some important magnates were arriving from her father's court, he was apprehensive that he would be shamed by his wife's mean dress. Elizabeth received divine assistance, and surprised the court by appearing in an azure, pearl-encrusted robe.⁶⁶ This tale, and the others like it, dignify clothing and rank in a new way: in contrast to the instances in which the Virgin Mary intervenes to specify humble apparel for her chosen, instead it is God intervening to ensure that Elizabeth looks the part of a Landgravine. Furthermore, this divine interest draws attention to and even validates the wife's role as social mannequin.

⁶³ *Libri octo de S. Elizabeth* 2.6 in *Thesaurus monumentorum ecclesiasticorum et historicorum*, ed. H. Canisius (Antwerp, 1725), 4:125. Book three is entirely dedicated to Ludwig's virtues. It is also worthy of note that Ludwig sanctioned his wife's vow of complete obedience to her confessor, Conrad of Marburg, with the exception of what concerned the husband's rights. (See the *Libellus de dictis quatuor ancillarum*, containing the depositions of the four female attendants with whom Elizabeth was intimate, which served as the primary testimony in Elizabeth's process for canonization [ed. Albert Huyskens in *Quellenstudien zur Geschichte der hl. Elisabeth Landgräfin von Thüringen* (Marburg, 1908), 114].)

⁶⁴ Theodoric, *Libri octo* 2.3, p. 124.

⁶⁵ In one instance, for example, Elizabeth was said to have given away her mantle and could no longer dress appropriately for an important banquet that evening. The mantle, however, was miraculously restored to her wardrobe in time for the event (*Libri octo* 2.9, p. 126). The behaviour of Humiliana of Cerchi (d. 1246) is likewise representative: after her marriage, she gave away all of her clothes to the poor. Her hagiographer also describes how she cut up a new scarlet dress that her husband had bought her and sold the various parts so she could distribute alms (*AA SS*, May 4:386). Her right to do so might well be challenged in any of the centuries under consideration, but certainly in the later Middle Ages this gesture becomes even more problematical since the husband's gifts to the bride (which came to constitute a kind of "counterdowry") were almost purely for display and often only rented (see Klapisch-Zuber, "The Griselda Complex," 213-46, esp. 218 ff.).

⁶⁶ Theodoric, *Libri octo* 2.8, pp. 125-26. For other versions of this legend, see Comte de Montalembert, *Histoire de Sainte Élisabeth de Hongrie* (Paris, 1930), 1:308-18.

The saint's pious divestment and the miraculous "cover-up" both subverts and reaffirms social norms, a factor which will be discussed in greater detail below.

For both its sexual and social implications, however, opulent dress was very much at odds with Elizabeth's Franciscan spirituality. We know, for example, that during her husband's lifetime she had pledged a conditional vow of chastity in the event of her husband's death, and that, immediately following his demise, she adopted an extreme form of apostolic poverty and mendicancy.⁶⁷ Yet she fully understood and appreciated what was owing to her husband. According to her maid Isentrude's deposition, Elizabeth's own austere tastes were only in evidence during his absence.

When her husband was absent blessed Elizabeth would pass whole nights in vigils, genuflections, scourgings, and prayer; she also put off her rich clothes and ornaments and dressed herself as a widow with a nun's veil on her head. She would wear harsh wool or haircloth next to her skin, even when she was outwardly dressed in magnificent apparel. When her husband was about to return, she adorned herself sumptuously, not she said, to gratify the body's pride, but for the honor of God, and in order to prevent any temptation to sin in her husband should he be displeased with her appearance. "It is in God," she said, "that I love my husband, and may He who sanctified marriage grant us eternal life."⁶⁸

A confessor might well be proud of Elizabeth for her canonically correct rationale. The expediency of concealed articles of penance, often entirely unbeknownst to even the husband, ensured that the women themselves did not give way to the lasciviousness of the clothes that they were required to wear, for clothes were not without power.⁶⁹ One has only to recall the inevitably female figure of Luxuria, whether in morality plays or presiding with all her doomed charm in the panoply of vices and virtues on cathedral facades, in order to recognize the dangerous glamour of luxury items.

⁶⁷ For Elizabeth's intention of chastity, see Huyskens, *Quellenstudien*, 114-15, 124; regarding her adoption of poverty, see pp. 121-25. For a sensitive discussion of both the spiritual and social dimensions of Elizabeth's self-denial, see André Vauchez, "Charité et pauvreté chez sainte Elisabeth de Thuringe, d'après les actes des procès de canonisation" in *Études sur l'histoire de la pauvreté*, ed. Michel Mollat, (Paris, 1974), 1:163-73.

⁶⁸ Huyskens, *Quellenstudien*, 117; translated in the appendix of Nesta de Robeck, *St. Elizabeth of Hungary* (Milwaukee, 1954), 160-61.

⁶⁹ Cf. the good-natured ribbing endured by Clara Gambacorta (d. 1420): "Teneram carnem macerabat cilicio, et quando oportebat eam pro sui status decentia, cultiori ornatu uti, sub eo abscondebat habitum, divinis dumtaxat oculis placiturum; reddens hoc modo quae sunt Caesaris Caesari, et quae sunt Dei Deo. Accidit autem aliquando ut eam nova pretiosaque in tunica fratrum suorum unus intuens, jocando diceret, O pulchram vestem! quam bene conveniret tibi sub ea cilicium! quod illa, ut ab ignaro rei dictum, suavi excipiens risu, id quod erat caute dissimulavit" (AA SS, April 2:504).

Because of the explicit association of finery with the conjugal debt, and the marked aversion that many saintly matrons had towards payment of the debt, the representation of clothing is often fraught with ulterior significance. To Dorothea of Montau (d. 1394), a woman who longed to live chastely and wept whenever her husband exacted the debt, not only the sight, but even the thought or memory of dresses with dyed fringes or pleated mantles felt like stabs in her eyes. She became instantly nauseated and wanted to tear her eyes out.⁷⁰ The sexual allure of fine garments is especially apparent in the life of the blessed Salome (d. 1268), the queen of Galicia, for whom the motive of “dressing for the debt” was no longer appropriate. Although she had pledged perpetual virginity with her husband, Caloman, one day, “invaded by the temptation of pleasing her husband, . . . she adorned herself with female ornaments.” When the king saw her in this unaccustomed mode, he became so sexually aroused that he immediately placed his virgin wife on the bed. Before anything irreparable occurred, however, he remembered their vow (albeit with regret) and released her. After this unsettling experience, Salome always dressed like a widow and her husband encouraged her to do so.⁷¹ Salome and Caloman’s solution is not unique. There are several instances in which wives, enabled by their husbands’ consent, commemorate their vow of chastity by the permanent assumption of a humble garb—both averting temptation and signifying that they were no longer obliged to attract their spouses physically.⁷²

When a husband sanctions his wife’s assumption of a religious garb, be it the more formal costume of the tertiary orders or an *ad hoc* penitential costume, he is in essence permitting a radical statement to be made

⁷⁰ *AA SS*, October 13:526. For Dorothea’s aversion to sex, see *Die Akten des Kanonisationsprozesses Dorotheas von Montau von 1394 bis 1521*, ed. Richard Stachnik (Cologne and Vienna, 1978), 107, 204, 272-73.

⁷¹ “. . . Salomea invadente temptatione ad beneplacita sui domini se ornatu muliebri . . . ornavit; quo ornatu ornata miro modo cepit fulgere et suam auxit pulchritudinem. . . . Et cum rex cubiculum intrasset, mox delectacione captus eam intra sua brachia cepit et super lectum posuit, in quo dormire solebat et stans super eam intuensque claritatem vultus eius, ait: O Ihesu Christe, quam magna dimitto propter te. Et ait ad Salomeam: Nisi dimitterem propter Deum, commercia carnis exegissem. Et dimittens eam intactam, foras egressus [est]. Intelligens autem Salomea in hoc fuisse temptationem diaboli incitantis et misericordiam Dei liberantis, similia de cetero noluit acceptare. Hoc autem factum fuit, quia in primevo etatis flore utebatur veste viduali et inculata; propter quod sepius hortabatur eam Colomanus, quod huiusmodi vestem non deferebat, cum vidua non esset ipso vivente” (W. Ketrzynski, ed., *Vita sanctae Salomeae reginae Haliciensis* in *Monumenta Poloniae Historica*, ed. August Bielowski [Lvov, 1884; rpt. Warsaw, 1961], 4:778).

⁷² According to the later life of Mary Magdalen Anguillaria, Francesca put aside worldly dress when her husband released her from the conjugal debt (*AA SS*, March 2:183); cf. Hedwig’s assumption of a grey robe after her husband agreed to abstain (*AA SS*, October 8:227).

concerning their sexuality. If, for example, either party assumes the habit of any of the penitential orders, the couple is creating a common expectation that they either abstain or intend to abstain during the numerous penitential periods of the Church—a discipline which, although formerly a precept for the average layperson, was only a counsel from the last quarter of the twelfth century.⁷³ A wife's independent assumption of an informal penitential costume may be construed as a covert act of rebellion that is, in essence, acknowledging a tension between a desire to please God and a desire to please her husband, in the fullest sense.

Some of the motives for a couple's secrecy (by which I mean not publicizing a change in life through clothes) are, of course, commendable: a couple's sexual abstemiousness, be it relative or absolute, is rather like a hair shirt—the less said about it the worthier the wearer. In legendary saints' lives, the couple's secrecy adds poignancy to the eventual revelation of their purity—a fact often disclosed by the husband at the graveside of his deceased spouse.⁷⁴ But these stories, for all their charm, are apocryphal. It was already suggested that when a vow of chastity exists in marriage, it is more often than not the man who is reluctant to testify to the fact through externals. Hence, we find in many unions which progress to absolute chastity that the wife's radical change in dress, nevertheless, coincides with her husband's death. This holds true in the cases of Dauphine of Puimichel (d. 1360), Jeanne-Marie de Maillac (d. 1414), and Angelina Corbara of Marsciano (d. 1435). In these instances, all of the parties were members of the nobility and none of the marriages were ever consummated. The pressure brought to bear upon members of the nobility to produce heirs places an even higher premium on secrecy than if these individuals were of humbler birth.⁷⁵

Finally, the whole question of dress underlines the difference between the external and internal forum. Even if a husband were willing to live

⁷³ André Vauchez, *La spiritualité du moyen âge* (Rome, 1975), 128. For the penances set by Burchard of Worms for not observing these periods of sexual abstinence, see *Decretorum libri XX, Corrector* 19.5 under "De abusione conjugii" (PL 140:959-60). All of these prohibitions were still included in Gratian (C.33 q.4 c.1-11). Also see Meersseman, *Dossier*, 280.

⁷⁴ An instance of this is the account of Injuriosus and Scholastica, otherwise known as the Two Lovers, by Gregory of Tours. See *History of the Franks* 1.47, trans. Lewis Thorpe (Harmondsworth, Middlesex, 1974), 97.

⁷⁵ For Angelina, see Luigi Jacobilli, *Die selige Angelina von Marsciano*, trans. into German by a sister of Ewigen Abbey (Dülmen, 1919), 32. For Dauphine, *Enquête pour le procès de canonisation de Dauphine de Puimichel, Comtesse d'Ariano*, ed. Jacques Cambell (Torino, 1978), articula 20-22, pp. 44-45; *Vies occitanes de saint Auzias et de sainte Dauphine*, ed. Cambell, *Bibliotheca Pontificii Athenaei Antoniani* 12 (Rome, 1963), 183. For Jeanne-Marie de Maillac, see *AA SS*, March 3:737.

a more or less chaste life, he might not wish this to be known lest it be perceived as a break in his authority. The biblical *Glossa ordinaria* on Ephesians 5, for example, betrays the concern that with a vow of chastity, the husband's affection and charity may end, while a wife's submission may likewise be in doubt.⁷⁶ In other words, there is a clear association of sexual relations and masculine dominance. The example of Augustine's correspondent, Ecdicia, is again instructive here: faced with general insubordination and the unauthorized assumption of a widow's garb after the vow of chastity, the husband reestablished his presence and presumably his authority by an extramarital display of virility.

Dress and the "Inner Self"

The impetus for these women's acts of flamboyant self-representation needs to be understood in terms of particular features of female spirituality. Even though certain canonists were seen to have undermined masculine authority over the self-interested question of alms (provided that these were distributed with appropriate stealth), the Church ultimately collaborated with husbands in controlling or even suppressing outward displays of female piety, thus depriving women of the freedom to imitate a saintly model openly. This limitation initiated a direct communication with the Divine, whence the women in question received sanction for unconventional behaviour. Therefore, I would argue that behaviour which, on the surface, resembles willful rebellion is in fact generated by a more complex reflex. Moreover, the ostensible "rebellion" implicit in female spirituality—particularly married women's spirituality—ultimately changed the shape of late medieval piety.

To understand this process, we must return to the issue of the inner versus the outer self as articulated by the High Middle Ages. The twelfth century has been frequently credited with the discovery of the "individual" or of the "self." Abelard's *Ethics* and the revival of intentionality, Bernard of Clairvaux's vision of self-love as a preliminary step to loving God, and the emphasis on confession and especially on inner contrition are only a few of the milestones most frequently cited.⁷⁷ Yet Caroline Bynum has also noted

⁷⁶ The following gloss, attributed to Primasius (sixth century) is given for Eph 5:22 ff. (i.e., "Mulieres viris suis subditae sint, sicut domino . . ."): "Non eos sicut Corinthios lactabat incontinentes, sed perfecto cibo continentiae nutrebat, timet ne in plerisque cessante carnis officio aut in mulieribus subiectio, aut in viris cessaret charitatis affectus, & non tam continentiam quam divortium docuisse videretur" (*Glossa ordinaria*, [Paris, 1590], 6:562).

⁷⁷ See Colin Morris, *The Discovery of the Individual, 1050-1200* (New York, 1972), esp. 64-79; Benton, "Consciousness of Self," 263, 274, 272-73; Caroline Walker Bynum, "Did the Twelfth Century Discover the Individual?" in *Jesus as Mother: Studies in the Spirituality of the High Middle Ages* (Berkeley, 1982), 85-86.

with respect to twelfth-century spirituality that this emphasis on the "self" must be seen in the context of the growing concern to be identified with a group.⁷⁸ Group identity was moulded to accord with a common model for imitation. Imitation of the model would, in turn, leave an imprint on the soul, implying a rather strict correspondence between the inner and outer person.⁷⁹

What is important for our purposes, however, is that this model does not apply to the married woman of the High Middle Ages. Not only was a matron barred from the strict imitation of an external *exemplum*, but she was equally discouraged from adopting the classical standard of outwardly manifesting an inner grace through dress. Adherence to either of these systems without her husband's authorization would constitute rebellion. Instead, women developed a model that was fundamentally different from the twelfth-century paradigm of *imitatio*—a model that, indeed, abandoned any *direct* correspondence between outer and inner selves.

Furthermore, there is every indication that this more complex, female reflex was a turning point for medieval spirituality, generally. The thirteenth century marks the advent of the more ostentatious displays of female spirituality characterized above. Moreover, it is precisely at this point that the close correspondence between inner and outer begins to be eroded. In the thirteenth century there is, instead, a greater differentiation between self and groups.⁸⁰

Female spirituality forged a different path which stressed greater reliance on the inner self. If women were denied the twelfth-century practice of *imitatio*, they were to some extent consoled by the growing emphasis on intentionality. We have already witnessed how Raymond of Peñafort authorized the wife to distinguish between what her husband said with his mouth and what he held in his heart in matters of almsgiving. The way in which the focus upon intentionality informed the Church's assessment of the conjugal debt, in particular, would have the greatest impact on a pious matron. Following Augustine, the Church had long held that the only untainted reasons for performing the conjugal act were those of procreation or fulfillment of the debt. Gratian, by appealing to Augustine's letter to Ecdicia, emphasized the idea that a party who wished to abstain sexually for God, but was compelled to render the debt, would nevertheless be

⁷⁸ Bynum, "Did the Twelfth Century Discover," 88-90; cf. J. F. Benton, "Individualism and Conformity in Medieval Western Europe" in *Individualism and Conformity in Classical Islam*, ed. Amin Banani and Speros Vryonis, Jr. (Wiesbaden, 1977), 150-53.

⁷⁹ Bynum, "Did the Twelfth Century Discover," 99-102.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, 109.

credited with continent intentions, hence making intentionality the key to sinless sex.⁸¹ On an individual level, such a distinction encouraged a careful analysis of motives—a scrutiny that would inevitably lead to a separation of the inner self (the realm of intention) and the outer self (the realm of activity). From the point of view of the couple, the distinction between the party initiating the sex act (guilty of a venial sin) and the compliant party (credited with a meritorious act) would divide husband and wife in spirit.⁸² The woman would naturally tend to identify with her inner self as the part more truly validated.

Although this new disjunction in female spirituality originated in an unsystematic manner, clerical advisers eventually came to nurture female identification with the inner self. This tendency becomes evident in an examination of the devotional literature especially created for women. Geneviève Hasenohr's analysis of spiritual rules governing the daily life of laywomen reveals that the authors of these rules were either unwilling or unable to reconcile their married penitents' active and contemplative roles. The former function was invariably eclipsed by the latter.⁸³ Furthermore,

⁸¹ C.33 q.5 c.5; cf. C.32 q.2 c.3 and n. 20 above. See Makowski, "Conjugal Debt," 100-101. Also cf. the similar treatment in Peter Lombard, *Sent.* 4.31-32 (written between 1155 and 1159), which remained the standard theological textbook for centuries.

⁸² Makowski, "Conjugal Debt," 100-106; Brundage, *Law, Sex*, 280-88. Brundage notes a movement away from this rigorism with regard to conjugal relations amongst some canonists and theologians as the period progresses, but there is no general consensus (364-65; 448-50); cf. Thomas N. Tentler, *Sin and Confession on the Eve of the Reformation* (Princeton, 1977), 166-86. For the possible effects of this division on the husband's and wife's respective psyches, see Georges Duby, "Que sait-on de l'amour en France au XII^e siècle?" Zaharoff Lecture for 1982-3 (Oxford, 1983), esp. 9-13.

⁸³ "La vie quotidienne de la femme vue par l'église: L'enseignement des 'journées chrétiennes' de la fin du moyen âge" in *Frau und spätmittelalterlicher Alltag: Internationaler Kongress, Krems an der Donau, 2. bis 5. Oktober 1984*, Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philosophisch-Historische Klasse, Sitzungsberichte 473 (Vienna, 1986), 19-101. Hasenohr points out that clerical authors make no attempt to incorporate women into socio-economic categories in either the rules in question or in pastoralia generally, preferring to categorize women in terms of orders of merit predicated on chastity (21-30). The authors' failure to address the most important aspects of married women's temporal condition (such as their husbands, children, etc.) or resolve any of the tensions between conflicting sets of responsibilities (see esp. 41-49) is determined by their underlying conviction that marriage was incompatible with a spiritual life (36) and by the fact that they modelled their works on rules for anchoresses (68 ff.). Although Hasenohr's study analyses this genre for France, Italy, and Spain between the thirteenth and sixteenth centuries, it is significant that there is only one parallel work written for a male (20); cf. Susan Groag Bell's findings with regard to female ownership of devotional works, especially Books of Hours ("Medieval Women Book Owners: Arbiters of Lay Piety and Ambassadors of Culture" in *Women and Power in the Middle Ages*, ed. Mary Erler and Maryanne Kowaleski [Athens, Georgia, 1988], 149-87).

the excessive amount of time prescribed for private prayer, coupled with set meditations to accompany mundane tasks, would tend to alienate the woman from her activities and surroundings.⁸⁴

Yet, by a stunning paradox, reliance on inner promptings opened the way to direct communication with God. Married women were by no means oblivious or indifferent to the new forms of religious expression that were springing up all around them, but restricted as they were, they tended to internalize an outer model immediately, bypassing the preliminary stage of outer imitation. Moreover, as John Benton has shown, the medieval preoccupation with the inner self was by no means motivated by modern concerns with individuality or personality.⁸⁵ The inner self was, rather, identified with God. Thus when an inner voice prompted a pious woman to behave or to dress in a particular way, this conduct was understood as the direct expression of the will of God. Evidently, society often interpreted a woman's ostensible rebellion in this way as well, since many a woman who resisted masculine efforts to curtail her ascetic dress became a saint. Her task and, later, that of her hagiographer was then to justify what in many respects resembled the kind of unconscionable arrogance that Augustine reproved in Eclicia. What was used to vindicate these women in the face of terrestrial disapproval was an explicit celestial mandate. We have seen above that Margery Kempe's costume was specified by Christ. Indeed, Margery was embarrassed over her singular apparel and had to be ordered by Christ to resume it.⁸⁶ The Virgin Mary was behind the change in dress of Catherine of Sweden's sister-in-law, and she instigated a similar change on the part of Jeanne-Marie de Maillac, although the latter's reformed apparel brought public ridicule.⁸⁷ Indeed, God often intervened on behalf of his chosen to conceal their pious peccadilloes: in the lives of Margaret the Barefoot, Hedwig, and Cunegund, sandals miraculously appeared when they met with husband or confessor unexpectedly.

The female pattern of internalization and eventual manifestation may, on the surface, bear a closer correspondence with the classical model, whereby inner grace is reflected in clothing and bearing, than with the twelfth-century model of *imitatio*. And yet a woman's efforts to make the outer and inner correspond are not consciously "willed" but divinely ordained,

⁸⁴ Hasenohr, "Vie quotidienne," 67.

⁸⁵ Benton, "Consciousness of Self," 284-85; cf. Bynum, "Did the Twelfth Century Discover," 87.

⁸⁶ *The Book of Margery Kempe*, ed. Meech and Allen, chaps. 30, 33, 34, pp. 76, 84-85.

⁸⁷ *AA SS*, March 3:737.

so the authority behind her asceticism is undeniable. Indeed, the internal promptings which dictated dress parallel the somatic changes which Bynum has demonstrated to be almost exclusive to female spirituality from the thirteenth century onward.⁸⁸

The disjunction between a woman's inner and outer self points to why women, and very often married women, became masters of the interior life in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. It also suggests why they led the way in a break from group identification to more individualized forms of spirituality, especially mysticism. Yet why society tolerated and even celebrated a model of female sanctity that, on many levels, appeared socially deviant or even rebellious is, nevertheless, problematical. But was this behaviour ultimately disruptive? The *vitae* in question should alert us to the fact that appearances may deceive.

Female spirituality invariably bears the hallmarks of the woman's social role, a factor which, as Sarah Beckwith has suggested, not only facilitates but also contains efforts to redefine this role.⁸⁹ Thus, the preoccupation with food, which Bynum has shown to be so central to female piety,⁹⁰ has the potential for expanding and reinforcing the woman's role as nurturer. Likewise, the female focus on Christ the Bridegroom or the Christ child to some extent reaffirms domestic norms.⁹¹ Similarly, since a female saint's flamboyant acts of divestment are often directed to charitable purposes, the traditional association of woman with "mercy" and her conventional roles as nurturer and giver of alms are also endorsed.⁹² It should also be remembered that among the many examples of divinely sanctioned "subversion" of normative dress codes, we also find divine assistance in concealing this subversion—reinforcing the necessity of compliance to conventional standards.

Society was also cushioned against any possible "fall-out" from the more flamboyant aspects of female spirituality by a gradual change in the perception of how saints function in society. Even as the spirituality of the

⁸⁸ Bynum, *Holy Feast and Holy Fast*, 139, 210-12; "The Female Body and Religious Practice in the Later Middle Ages" in *Zone: Fragments for a History of the Human Body*, ed. Michel Feher et al., pt. 1 (New York, 1989), 165; cf. Weinstein and Bell, *Saints and Society*, 234-35; Vauchez, *Laïcs*, 202.

⁸⁹ See "A Very Material Mysticism: The Medieval Mysticism of Margery Kempe" in *Medieval Literature: Criticism, Ideology and History*, ed. David Aers (Brighton, 1986), 34-57.

⁹⁰ See, *Holy Feast and Holy Fast*, esp. 189-94.

⁹¹ Beckwith, "A Very Material Mysticism," 52.

⁹² For a nuanced discussion of the association of women with mercy, see Bynum's "Jesus as Mother and Abbot as Mother: Some Themes in Twelfth-Century Cistercian Writing" in *Jesus as Mother*, 110-69.

thirteenth and especially fourteenth centuries represents a movement away from the twelfth-century paradigm of *imitatio*, the *vitae* of the saints themselves are upheld as models not for imitation but for admiration. Jacques de Vitry is one of the first to underline this distinction in depth in his *Life of Mary of Oignies* (ca. 1177-1213).

I do not tell this to recommend her excess, but to show her fervor. The discreet reader must note, in regard to these things and many others that she did with the privilege of grace, that the privileges of a few do not constitute law for all. Her virtues should be imitated, but we are not to imitate her deeds of virtue without private privilege. . . . Therefore, when we read what certain saints did on the personal counsel of the Holy Spirit, we should wonder at their deeds rather than imitate them [*admiremur potius quam imitemur*].⁹³

This married woman, considered by many as the founder of the Beguine movement, is seen as a kind of turning point in female spirituality for her austerity in dress, fasting, Eucharistic devotion, and mysticism. Jacques's *vita* is a parallel *tour de force* in that it is the first biography of a female mystic which, in turn, establishes new conventions for medieval hagiography.⁹⁴

It is no coincidence that the distinction between imitation and admiration, although always present, should be sharpened precisely when female lay piety became so prominent. Ultimately this distinction provided an outlet for female dissatisfaction, while severing it from the sponsorship of actual change. And, lest we forget, for every ostensibly "deviant" woman who was eventually venerated as a saint, many more were persecuted and condemned as heretics.

The female saints' lives of the High and later Middle Ages demonstrate the impracticability of widespread adoption, by society at large, of any holistic vision, whether classical or medieval, which requires that garments should mirror the condition of the soul. Such a correspondence could potentially rush society too quickly along the eschatological path, because, according to the order of salvation, the souls of men and women are equal.

⁹³ AA SS, June 5:550; as cited by Richard Kieckhefer in *Unquiet Souls* (Chicago, 1984), 13. For a discussion of the distinction between *imitanda* and *admiranda*, see *ibid.*, 12-14; also see Bynum, *Holy Feast and Holy Fast*, 336 n. 82.

⁹⁴ See McDonnell, *The Beguines and Beghards*, 20-39; Brenda M. Bolton, "Mulieres Sanctae" in *Women in Medieval Society*, ed. Stuard, 144-49; "'Vitae Matrum': A Further Aspect of Frauenfrage" in *Medieval Women*, ed. Baker, 253-73; and Dennis Devlin, "Feminine Lay Piety in the High Middle Ages: The Beguines" in *Distant Echoes: Medieval Religious Women*, vol. 1, ed. J. T. Nichols and L. T. Shank, Cistercian Studies Series, 71 (Kalamazoo, Michigan, 1984), 183-96.

Bodies are evidence of our temporal condition, just as clothes are evidence of the condition into which we were born or married. When a pious matron's clothing corresponds to her spiritual condition, the temporal order is strained insofar as the clothes often bespeak a conflict between her husband's will and God's will, as well as a suspension of normative values. For society at large, masculine authority is only truly secure when clothing symbolizes external, not internal realities.

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THE PRODUCTION AND PRESERVATION OF LETTERS BY FOURTEENTH-CENTURY DOMINICAN NUNS

Debra L. Stoudt

The rise of Dominican convents in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries is a remarkable event in religious history. Attempts have been made to explain the phenomenon almost totally as a response to prevalent social and economic conditions, but the fact that so many medieval women made a conscious decision to embrace the religious life is irrefutable.¹ This decision did not always please the members of the male orders, who felt that ministering to religious houses for the women took them away from more important duties. As the convents multiplied and flourished, spiritual guidance for the women became imperative and thus the orders, despite their reluctance, established by decree the *cura monialium* at the end of the twelfth century.

In the accomplishment of the duties of the *cura monialium* letters often came to play a significant role in the relationship between the priest and the nuns. The relative abundance of letters by male religious stands in stark contrast to the few extant letters by their female correspondents, especially in the fourteenth century, during which a number of such relationships developed. This circumstance may be explained in part by mere chance: some letters were lost or destroyed before they could be copied, whereas others were preserved; some manuscripts and manuscript libraries survived the vicissitudes of the centuries, whereas others did not. However, certain historical and religious factors have a bearing on the survival of letters and these need to be studied in more detail. This article will examine the role of letters in the religious environment and the nature of scribal practices as they influenced the production and preservation of letters. Equally significant to epistolary style and content is the role of each of the correspondents within the religious hierarchy. The second half of this paper will focus on the epistolary writing of four female Dominican mystics of the fourteenth

¹ See Herbert Grundmann, *Religiöse Bewegungen im Mittelalter: Untersuchungen über die geschichtlichen Zusammenhänge zwischen der Ketzerei, den Bettelorden und der religiösen Frauenbewegung im 12. und 13. Jahrhundert und über die geschichtlichen Grundlagen der deutschen Mystik* (Berlin, 1935; rpt. Darmstadt, 1977), 170-98.

century: Margaretha Ebner, Christine Ebner, Adelheid Langmann, and Elsbeth Stigel; the letters of these religious women offer us insight into the relationship between confessor and nun.

In part because of the reluctance of the older orders—particularly the Premonstratensians—the mendicants and especially the Dominicans came to be the most diligent religious order in devoting itself to the *cura monialium*.² The orders were charged with the spiritual welfare of cloistered women as well as Beguines and recluses.³ The duties of the priest were to hear confession, administer the sacraments, preach at a level commensurate with the intellectual capabilities of the sisters, and otherwise advise the sisters as they sought to follow the rules of the order.⁴ The advice offered by the priest encompassed the practical, e.g., the management of the convent, as well as the theological, e.g., explanations and insights into spiritual matters, including mystical experiences. Advice often focused on questions of orthodoxy; it was indeed the fear that heretical ideas were likely to spread among unsupervised women that led the orders to adopt the *cura monialium*. Such fears arose in part from the emergence of numerous heretical sects and in part from the nature of female piety. Certain very strong spiritual impulses served to distinguish the piety of the nuns from that of the male religious; among these impulses were the devotion to the Eucharist, penitential asceticism, particularly fasting, and visionary or mystical experiences.⁵ It was the responsibility of the male religious to monitor these spiritual practices as well as the writings of the nuns, so that the sisters would not fall victim to either obsessive behavior or heretical beliefs. The role of the spiritual adviser in the production of literary works by the nuns is unclear. In some cases the priest functioned not only as the amanuensis but also as an editor who improved upon the grammar or style of the writing. It is generally acknowledged that the monk Volmar exerted substantial influence on the style of Hildegard of Bingen's works but not on their content;⁶ likewise

² John B. Freed makes a case for the Cistercians' involvement in the *cura monialium* in "Urban Development and the 'cura monialium' in Thirteenth-Century Germany," *Viator* 3 (1972): 311-27.

³ For a description of the relationship between the orders and the Beguines, see Ernest W. McDonnell, *The Beguines and Beghards in Medieval Culture* (New York, 1969), 101-19 and 187-204; and Dayton Phillips, *Beguines in Medieval Strasburg: A Study of the Social Aspect of Beguine Life* (Ph.D. diss., Columbia, 1941; Ann Arbor, 1941), 219-25.

⁴ Grundmann, *Religiöse Bewegungen*, 274-303, especially 274 and 287.

⁵ Caroline Walker Bynum, "Religious Women in the Later Middle Ages" in *Christian Spirituality: High Middle Ages and Reformation*, ed. Jill Raitt (New York, 1987), 131. See also two other works by Bynum: "Women Mystics and Eucharistic Devotion in the Thirteenth Century," *Women's Studies* 11 (1984): 179-214; and *Holy Feast and Holy Fast: The Religious Significance of Food to Medieval Women* (Berkeley, 1987).

⁶ Peter Dronke, "Hildegard of Bingen" in his *Women Writers of the Middle Ages: A*

Eckbert of Schönau stylized the works of his sister Elisabeth, most notably her *Liber viarum Dei*, in accordance with his own educational and theological training.⁷ Traditionally the priest has been viewed by scholars as an inspirational or motivating force with regard to the writings by the nuns, yet this view that many of the nuns wrote their visions and revelations or had them written down at the request or command of the confessor finds scant support in the texts themselves.⁸ Many of the works offer only a single reference to the actual writing process, e.g., Margaretha Ebner's assertion: "Item ich wart gebeten von dem warhaften friund gotez . . . daz ich ime scribe, waz mir got gebe" (83.27-84.1);⁹ or the claim in Adelheid Langmann's *Offenbarungen*: "do hiez si der selb lesmeister daz si ez an schribe" (26.5-6).¹⁰ Thus, although the priest usually encouraged writing by the nuns, it was God's message that the nun communicated.

In Germany the Order of Preachers exerted a profound influence on convents around Cologne but truly flourished in southern Germany. By the mid-fourteenth century there were sixty-five Dominican convents in the southern province of Teutonia but only nine in the northern province of Saxonia, the old German province (also called Teutonia) having been divided in 1303; the number of convents greatly exceeded that of monasteries at the time. Generally the prior was appointed the spiritual adviser, but if he was unable to perform the duties, either he or the provincial would designate another priest.¹¹ Occasionally men who held positions of importance within the order were charged with the care of the nuns; one such example was the Master General of the Order of Preachers, Jordan of Saxony. Most

Critical Study of Texts from Perpetua (†203) to Marguerite Porete (†1310) (Cambridge, 1984), 148; and Hildephonse Herwegen, "Les collaborateurs de sainte Hildegarde," *Revue Bénédictine* 21 (1904): 192-203, 302-15, 381-403.

⁷ Kurt Köster, "Elisabeth von Schönau" in *Die deutsche Literatur des Mittelalters: Verfasserlexikon*, 2d ed., ed. Kurt Ruh (Berlin, 1978-), 2:490.

⁸ Ursula Peters discusses the *topos* of the *Schreibbefehl* in *Religiöse Erfahrung als literarisches Faktum: Zur Vorgeschichte und Genese frauenmystischer Texte des 13. und 14. Jahrhunderts* (Tübingen, 1988), 108. Peters notes that the priest's primary contribution was as an adviser rather than a collaborator and re-examines the roles of the nun and the priest in the writing process. See also Siegfried Ringer, *Viten- und Offenbarungsliteratur in Frauenklöstern des Mittelalters: Quellen und Studien*, Münchener Texte und Untersuchungen zur deutschen Literatur des Mittelalters 72 (Munich, 1980), 175-77.

⁹ Philipp Strauch, *Margaretha Ebner und Heinrich von Nördlingen: Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der deutschen Mystik* (Freiburg im Br., 1882; rpt. Amsterdam, 1966). All quotations of Margaretha's and Heinrich's work are from this edition.

¹⁰ Philipp Strauch, ed., *Die Offenbarungen der Adelheid Langmann, Klosterfrau zu Engelthal*, Quellen und Forschungen zur Sprach- und Culturgeschichte der germanischen Völker 26 (Straßburg, 1878). All quotations of Adelheid's works are from Strauch's edition.

¹¹ Gabriel M. Löhr, "Die Gewohnheiten eines mitteldeutschen Dominikanerklosters aus der ersten Hälfte des 14. Jahrhunderts," *Archivum fratrum praedicatorum* 1 (1931): 97.

others were primarily preachers; these included the priests Heinrich Seuse, Johannes Tauler, and Heinrich of Nördlingen. It should be noted that Heinrich of Nördlingen was not a member of the Dominican order but a secular priest charged with the spiritual care of sisters at several Dominican convents in South Germany.

The duties the priest performed were essential to convent life, yet despite the priest's pivotal role, the South German nuns seldom mention him in their *vitae*, revelations, or chronicles. The sisters occasionally comment upon the confessor's visits, but little is said about the relationship between him and the nun. When possible the priest would visit the convent to speak with the sisters personally, administer the sacraments, or preach to them, but because of his itinerant lifestyle, he was often unable to do so. In such cases advice could still be communicated via letters, which conveyed both didactic and personal messages.

The South German convents were often centers of mysticism, and most of the letters to and from the convents are by or to mystics. Wilhelm Oehl offers a comprehensive collection of such letters by medieval mystics from German-speaking areas in his *Deutsche Mystikerbriefe des Mittelalters 1100-1550*.¹² Of the forty figures identified by name by Oehl—there is one set of anonymous letters—fifteen are women. Hence, it would seem that more than one third of the correspondents are women. The percentage is misleading, however, since in several instances the women named are recipients of letters; but none of their own letters is extant. Oehl asserts that in these cases there was nevertheless an actual correspondence, a thesis that seems tenable given the state of the epistolary genre in the late Middle Ages.

Grounded in the *ars dictaminis* that had developed in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, the letter genre flourished during the latter half of the Middle Ages.¹³ Two distinct epistolary types are clearly identifiable: letters intended primarily for didactic purposes and those that may be characterized as letters in the modern sense of the term, i.e., personal letters. Both types employ the five-part dictaminal format—*salutatio*, *captatio benevolentiae*, *narratio*, *petitio*, *conclusio*—but in the case of the didactic letters the influence of dictaminal theory is usually more pronounced. In the thirteenth

¹² Wilhelm Oehl, *Deutsche Mystikerbriefe des Mittelalters 1100-1550* (Munich, 1931). Oehl's anthology is still the most complete collection of letters by religious men and women associated with the German mystical tradition.

¹³ For more on the development of the letter genre in the Middle Ages, see James J. Murphy, *Rhetoric in the Middle Ages: A History of Rhetorical Theory from Saint Augustine to the Renaissance* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1974), 194-268; and Georg Steinhausen, *Geschichte des deutschen Briefes: Zur Kulturgeschichte des deutschen Volkes*, Erster Teil (1889; rpt. Zurich, 1968), 1-110.

century the Latin letters by Jordan of Saxony and Peter of Dacia respectively exemplify the two tendencies; in the fourteenth century the vernacular is employed for the same two purposes by priests closely associated with South German convents: Heinrich Seuse and Heinrich of Nördlingen. With the letters of these four spiritual advisers the shift from Latin in the thirteenth century to the vernacular in the fourteenth is apparent. In the fifteenth century letter-writing in Latin was reinstated;¹⁴ it should be noted that almost all of the letter-writers were men. All four of the men mentioned above corresponded with Dominican nuns; the number of extant letters by the male spiritual advisers is 169, whereas the corresponding number by the nuns is fifteen.

The dearth of letters by members of female religious houses in the fourteenth century is puzzling, especially since visions, *vitae*, and chronicles by the women have survived. However, two factors which offer insight into this problem are the role of each of the two correspondents within the religious hierarchy and the nature of scribal practices.

Although "correspondence" refers to the exchange of letters, it cannot be assumed that there was an equal amount of writing by both the adviser and the nun. The position of the priest, the male, was almost always that of the superior within the hierarchy of the order; he was usually perceived to be the spiritual guide as well. In these capacities he undoubtedly did more writing, either to cheer, admonish, or instruct. There were, however, several religious women who enjoyed positions of ecclesiastical and political power both within their convent and beyond its walls. Two such nuns were the abbess Hildegard of Bingen and her contemporary Elisabeth of Schönau.¹⁵ It is only in the case of these two women that letter collections numbering more than ten epistles have survived.

In the case of a truly personal relationship, a constant exchange of letters between the absent priest and his spiritual daughter was more likely. Such relationships are difficult to document, however, and even where they are presumed, the correspondence is not always extant. The warmth of the letters of Jordan of Saxony to Diana of Andalò suggests a close friendship between the two, but no letters from Diana to Jordan have been preserved. Likewise the evidence of a friendship between Heinrich of Nördlingen and Margaretha

¹⁴ One exception to this trend is Johannes Nider, who seems to have based his choice of language on his purpose and his audience: Latin for scholarly tracts for the learned religious and German for didactic pieces addressed to the sisters at Schönensteinbach in the Alsace. See Oehl, *Mystikerbriefe*, 506; and Eugen Hillenbrand, "Johannes Nider" in *Die deutsche Literatur des Mittelalters: Verfasserlexikon* 6:971-77.

¹⁵ Elisabeth of Schönau was not an abbess but rather a *magistra*, since the Benedictine double monastery at Schönau was under the spiritual direction of the abbot.

Ebner rests almost exclusively on the priest's fifty-six letters to the nun; only one letter from Margaretha to Heinrich has survived.¹⁶

The nature of the transcription of the letters was such that it favored the preservation of letters sent to the convent, i.e., letters by the priest. The letters were collected and then copied into manuscripts by the sisters at the convent. Even a personal comment or a piece of advice which today might seem trivial was dutifully copied by a sister in the scriptorium because they were the words of the convent's spiritual mentor. The letters were perceived as documents relating to the history of the convent, like the convent chronicles and biographies of spiritually blessed sisters.¹⁷

The priest's epistles were preserved for their historical significance, but they often served another purpose. Epistles functioned not only as a more or less personal missive, a response to specific questions posed by one nun, but also as an encyclical to be read for the edification of the entire religious community. Since the spiritual adviser could not be at all of the convents in the region at once, the letter took the form of a *Lesepredigt*, a sermon to be read by the prioress in the priest's absence, possibly as the *collatio*.¹⁸ This epistolary function would appear to be of the post-Hildegardian generation, because Hildegard was permitted to preach and even undertook preaching tours;¹⁹ hence the abbess would have had little need for a *Lesepredigt*. The priest's words contributed a note of authority to the conventual leader's voice as she read to her community.²⁰ The letters sent by the sister or sisters to the priest were not preserved at the convent, because no one copied them before they were sent. There are several possible reasons why this occurred. The first is the importance of the sister within the religious house, either her conventual position as abbess or prioress or her spiritual renown. The fact that Hildegard of Bingen was the abbess of St. Disibodenberg and the Beguine Christine of Stommeln was the spiritual force at the convent of Stommeln near Cologne surely contributed to the preservation of their writings by their religious community. However, spiritual authority

¹⁶ Strauch, *Margaretha Ebner*, 169-270 and 281-83.

¹⁷ Paul-Gerhard Völker mentions the "Verherrlichung des eigenen Klosters" as a reason for the copying of sermons at the convents in "Die Überlieferungsformen mittelalterlicher deutscher Predigten," *Zeitschrift für deutsches Altertum* 92 (1963): 219.

¹⁸ See Völker, "Die Überlieferungsformen," 224.

¹⁹ See Barbara Newman, *Sister of Wisdom: St. Hildegard's Theology of the Feminine* (Berkeley, 1987), 11.

²⁰ The nuns sometimes read from *Himmelsbriefe*, in which the words of authority were not from the priest but from God. See, for example, J[osef] König, ed., "Die Chronik der Anna von Munzingen: Nach der ältesten Abschrift mit Einleitung und Beilagen," *Freiburger Diöcesan-Archiv* 13 (1880): 188.

was not enough to guarantee the preservation of letters. Often other works that attested to the sister's spirituality were deemed more significant and were preserved instead of the letters. For example, we know from the letters of Heinrich of Nördlingen that Margaretha Ebner carried on a correspondence with him, yet only one of these letters is extant; however, the nun's revelations have been preserved in the Medingen manuscript from 1353 and at least three later copies of it.²¹ A third factor is the nature of letters and the way in which they were recorded. The religious women were very careful to obtain approval from their male superiors before they embarked on the recording of their experiences, particularly their visions and mystical revelations. Letters were often addressed to the male advisers but the works had not been approved by them, thus the nuns might have considered it imprudent to commit the epistles to parchment. The technique of recording letters on wax tablets is discussed below (p. 325). The use of this impermanent form also may have contributed to letters not being preserved.

Even if the nun's own convent did not preserve her letters, the priest receiving them could have had them copied, as was in fact in some cases accomplished. For example, Peter of Dacia dutifully collected the letters by Christine of Stommeln, which are preserved in the Codex Juliensis;²² since the focus of the manuscript is the various aspects of Christine's spiritual life, it is not surprising that Peter accorded the letters a prominent role. Especially among itinerant preachers, however, it seems that there was either a lack of time, available scribes, or interest in the transcribing of letters written by the sisters. The priest's amanuensis was concerned with preparing official correspondence and written versions of the preacher's own sermons, tracts, and other works. To these activities one may add the copying of spiritually significant works by other religious persons. For example, it is unlikely that Heinrich of Nördlingen would have parted with Thomas Aquinas's *Summa* without first securing a copy of the work for himself; likewise the scribes in Basel undoubtedly would have been instructed to copy Mechthild of Magdeburg's *Fließendes Licht der Gottheit*, once Heinrich and his assistants had finished translating the work from Low German. Given such activity it is understandable that Heinrich's scribes might not

²¹ Strauch, *Margaretha Ebner*, XIV-XXVI.

²² Johannes Paulson's edition of the letter collection, entitled *Petri de Dacia Vita Christinae Stumbelesensis. Fasc. II secundum De vita Christinae librum continens* (Göteborg, 1896), 65-257, has recently been reprinted. See Alf Önnersfors, ed., *Petrus de Dacia. Vita Christinae Stumbelesensis. Ed. Johannes Paulson*, Lateinische Sprache und Literatur des Mittelalters 20 (Frankfurt/Main, 1985). For more on the manuscript transmission of Christine's life and visions, see Isak Collijn, "Handschriften till Petrus de Dacia, Vita Christinae Stumbelesensis," *Nordisk Tidskrift för Bok- och Biblioteksväsen* 23 (1936): 1-12.

have been able to find time to copy Margaretha's letters.²³ The dearth of extant letters by religious women suggests that such works were only rarely considered spiritually significant.

Letters by priests to nuns were thus more likely to be preserved because of the priests' higher rank within the religious hierarchy and because convent scriptoria seemed to concern themselves more with the copying of such documents than did the priest's amanuensis. Either one or both of these factors came into play as the epistolary tradition developed among the German female mystics.

The tradition began with the female German mystic Hildegard of Bingen (1098-1179), the gifted Benedictine abbess renowned for her prophetic and healing abilities. In addition to other works of a theological and medical nature, more than 300 letters to and from Hildegard have been discovered.²⁴ Because of Hildegard's position of power in both the secular and religious realms and the status of many of her addressants—cardinals, bishops, popes, kaisers, and kings—it is not surprising that so many of the letters were preserved, probably by her secretaries.²⁵ Hildegard was the reason for the success of the convent at St. Disibodenberg and of the house she founded at Eibingen, and thus she probably would have had the scriptorium at her command. It is also the nature of Hildegard's letters that led to their being copied and circulated, since most are didactic, either offering advice or admonishing. Studies of the authenticity of the letters have revealed that in many of the manuscripts, including the oldest manuscript, the Rupertsberg Codex, the letters were arranged according to the status of the recipients. The epistolary material was ordered thus for a specific purpose, namely to enhance Hildegard's reputation as a prophetess; Schrader and Führkötter have noted that the addresses of some letters in the Rupertsberg codex were falsified for this purpose.²⁶

²³ It appears that the scribes also could not find time to copy Heinrich's own works, for none has been found in Basel. Although it is perhaps not to be expected that a work of great theological import would appear under his name, it is surprising that no sermons are extant. Either every one of them was lost or they were never copied in the first place—in either case an unusual and unfortunate situation. Additional information on the activities of the scriptoria in Basel during Heinrich's tenure (1339-48[9]) would serve to clarify questions regarding the preservation and copying of spiritual texts.

²⁴ Marianna Schrader and Adelgundis Führkötter, *Die Echtheit des Schrifttums der heiligen Hildegard von Bingen* (Cologne and Graz, 1956), 159-79.

²⁵ Valerie M. Lagorio, "The Medieval Continental Women Mystics: An Introduction" in *An Introduction to the Medieval Mystics of Europe*, ed. Paul Szarmach (Albany, 1984), 163.

²⁶ Schrader and Führkötter, *Die Echtheit*, 160-71. See also Dronke, *Women Writers*, 144-201, especially 183-93.

The letters of Hildegard's contemporary Elisabeth of Schönau (1129-64) were collected immediately after her death by her brother Eckbert of Schönau, who acted as her spiritual adviser; in her position as *magistra* Elisabeth frequently offered advice to higher-ranking religious persons, and it was these letters that were preserved. Extant as well is correspondence between Elisabeth and Hildegard, with Hildegard as the spiritually superior.

When we move on to the thirteenth century, we find few letters by German nuns. Most of the epistolary works we have are from the very important religious center at Helfta with its triumvirate of gifted women, Mechthild of Magdeburg, Mechthild of Hackeborn, and Gertrude the Great. The only surviving work by Mechthild of Magdeburg is her *Fließendes Licht der Gottheit*, prepared with the help of her spiritual adviser Heinrich of Halle. Within the last three books of the work are four short letters, all by Mechthild and two of which are addressed to Heinrich. Similarly, it is in book 4 of Mechthild of Hackeborn's *Liber specialis gratiae* that the two letters by the nun are preserved. No letters by Gertrude the Great have survived, but one letter to her was incorporated into book 1, chap. 7, of her *Legatus divinae pietatis*.

From the thirteenth century there is one other notable correspondence, namely that between Christine of Stommeln and Peter of Dacia. The collection is one of the few that contains an exchange of letters. As mentioned above, the set of letters was collected by Peter of Dacia, who also wrote Christine's biography and recorded her visions. The epistolary collection is in Latin, with Christine's letters having been translated for her by the priest and later the schoolmaster in Stommeln.²⁷ Unlike the twelfth-century generation of religious women, Christine did not hold a position of authority at the convent of Schönau. She was, however, highly regarded as a spiritually blessed woman, a reputation that was preserved over the centuries and led to her beatification in 1908;²⁸ the remarkable events she described in her letters were reason enough for their preservation.²⁹ The correspondence between Peter and Christine is of a very personal nature, reflecting a different type of relationship between the priest and his spiritual daughter. The

²⁷ Önnersfors, *Petrus de Dacia*, foreword (no pag.).

²⁸ Herbert Thurston and Donald Attwater, eds., *Butler's Lives of the Saints*, 4 vols. (New York, 1956), 4:277. Of the other religious women discussed here several are listed as saints in the Roman Martyrology, e.g., Elisabeth of Schönau, Gertrude the Great, Hildegard of Bingen; in other cases the cult of the nun has been approved by the Church, e.g., Mechthild of Hackeborn and Mechthild of Magdeburg.

²⁹ The letters are Christine's only extant works. It seems likely that Christine had not written any other works, for if she had Peter undoubtedly would have included them in his work devoted to her.

relationship has often been compared to that between Heinrich of Nördlingen and Margaretha Ebner.

In the fourteenth century the center of religious activity shifted to South Germany and Switzerland. The extant letters by sisters from this century are few indeed. There is one letter each by Margaretha Ebner, Christine Ebner, and Adelheid Langmann, as well as excerpts from letters by Elsbeth Stagel. The fourteenth-century letters are noteworthy because they exemplify the different methods of employing epistolary material. Margaretha's letter is preserved as a letter per se; Christine's letter and that by Adelheid are incorporated into their *Vita* and *Offenbarungen* respectively; and Elsbeth's words have been paraphrased for incorporation into the *Vita* of her confessor Heinrich Seuse. These meager remnants of correspondences carried on by religious women in the fourteenth century also provide evidence of the changing character of the relationship between confessor and spiritual daughter. After having played the role of either the venerated or the venerating for generations, the nuns of the fourteenth century appear to be searching for a spiritual common ground with the priest. In these four letters we see examples of how the sisters reconciled themselves to this new situation.

The correspondence between Heinrich of Nördlingen and Margaretha Ebner has survived in only one manuscript, London, British Library Add. 11430, a sixteenth-century manuscript copied at least in part at the cloister in Medingen.³⁰ The collection consists of fifty-six letters from Heinrich to Margaretha, eight letters from various *Gottesfreunde* in South Germany and Switzerland to Margaretha, two additional letters by Heinrich to other sisters at Medingen, and one letter from Margaretha to Heinrich. Since the letter collection was copied at Medingen, this would explain why it contains only letters *to* Margaretha rather than the entire correspondence. The inclusion in the collection of the single letter by Margaretha is explained by the content of the letter. Margaretha writes: "ich lasz dich wissen, das ich dick gar kranck bin und unkunde krancket han, da ich dir nit von geschriben mag noch kan etc." (282.56-58); due to her illness the letter quite simply was never sent. Strauch's chronological ordering of Heinrich's letters makes clear that the priest never received the letter. In Heinrich's letter which precedes Margaretha's, Strauch XLVII, Heinrich mentions "sant Agnesen finger," a relic he wishes to send to the Medingen sister. In the subsequent communication (XLVIII) the priest comments that he has not received word

³⁰ Strauch, *Margaretha Ebner*, XX. Strauch asserts that the first two sections of the manuscript, Margaretha's *Offenbarungen* and the letter collection, date from the sixteenth century. Two sketches of Margaretha's life by Schlettstetter and Eysenhuet are from either the seventeenth or eighteenth century (XVII).

whether Margaretha is interested in the relic, information that the nun included in her letter: "umb das hailigtum sant Angneszen da han ich selber begird zu . . ." (282.58-59).

Margaretha's letter to Heinrich exhibits some of the structural characteristics found in the letters of her spiritual adviser.³¹ The structure of the letter approximates the five-part format set forth in the *ars dictaminis*, although the sections of Margaretha's letters are not clearly distinguished. The letter begins with a salutation directed toward the addressee Heinrich, but he is not mentioned by name. Referring to the addressee first is standard epistolary practice, particularly when that person holds a higher position or rank. Heinrich always mentions Margaretha first in his letters, and she does likewise here. Margaretha greets him, "den die ewig wiszhait mineklich umbfangen hat und von inerem lust suszegklich gezogen hat in das war liecht seiner hailigen gothait . . ." (281.1-3). The lengthy greeting—fourteen lines or almost one-fourth of the entire letter—concludes with Margaretha's reference to herself, "ain getrüwe nachfolgerin der menschait Jhesu Christi" (281.14-15). The verb *begeren* ("to desire, wish"), which is repeated five times, unifies the second section of the letter, the *captatio benevolentiae*. The first four wishes center on Heinrich's spiritual well-being and petition for an increase in his grace. Like Margaretha's beloved St. John, Heinrich is to lie at Christ's breast, here *hertz*, and be nourished with the Lord's grace (281.17-20).³² Margaretha desires that the perfect light of truth flow to Heinrich and that God's power protect him, so that he may serve God. The final use of *begeren* expresses a personal wish; Margaretha would like Heinrich to visit Medingen, since she is in need of his comfort. The final

³¹ For more on the structure of Heinrich's letters, see Debra L. Stoudt, "The Vernacular Letters of Heinrich von Nördlingen and Heinrich Seuse" (Ph.D. diss., North Carolina, 1986), 87-128; and Manfred Weitlauff, "Heinrich von Nördlingen" in *Die deutsche Literatur des Mittelalters: Verfasserlexikon* 3:848-52.

³² The prevalence of the image in the works of Dominican nuns of the time is well documented. See Strauch, *Margaretha Ebner*, 292, note to 22.8; Caroline Walker Bynum, *Jesus as Mother: Studies in the Spirituality of the High Middle Ages* (Berkeley, 1982), 113-35 and 146-54; and Eleanor C. McLaughlin, "'Christ My Mother': Feminine Naming and Metaphor in Medieval Spirituality," *St. Luke's Journal of Theology* 18 (1975): 366-88. The image also appeared in contemporary sculpture as the *Christus-Johannes-Gruppe*, which was especially popular in the Upper Rhine area. See Hans Wentzel, "Christus-Johannes-Gruppe" in *Reallexikon zur deutschen Kunstgeschichte*, vol. 3, ed. Ernst Gall and L. H. Heydenreich (Stuttgart, 1954), cols. 658-69; Eleanor S. Greenhill, "The Group of Christ and St. John as Author Portrait: Literary Sources, Pictorial Parallels" in *Festschrift Bernhard Bischoff zu seinem 65. Geburtstag*, ed. Johanne Autenrieth and Franz Brunhölzl (Stuttgart, 1971), 406-16; and Elisabeth Vavra, "Bildmotiv und Frauenmystik—Funktion und Rezeption" in *Frauenmystik im Mittelalter*, ed. Peter Dinzelbacher and Dieter R. Bauer (Ostfildern bei Stuttgart, 1985), 201-30.

petition is prefaced by the phrase "nu waist mein here Jhesu Christo wol" (282.49-50); Christ has in fact given Heinrich to Margaretha "von minen und von barmhertzigkeit" (282.46). The allusion to the personal relationship between the two leads to the brief *narratio*. This third epistolary section begins with the formulaic "ich lasz dich wissen," which is commonly employed in this way in Heinrich's letters. Following are the personal remarks mentioned above concerning Margaretha's health and the St. Agnes relic. The preserved portion of the letter ends with *etc.*, as do sixteen of Heinrich's letters.

Margaretha's letter contains numerous metaphors and other stylistic devices, but it is different from Heinrich's exuberant, poetic epistles.³³ Stylistically the letter is similar to the nun's *Offenbarungen*; it features vocabulary replete with coinings formed with the prefix *in-* as well as elemental imagery, especially light imagery.

Margaretha Ebner and Heinrich of Nördlingen are the pair generally cited when the question of a personal friendship between nun and priest is raised. The nun's works offer scant evidence to corroborate this assumption, however, and thus the close relationship between the two has been called into question recently.³⁴ Margaretha mentions her confessor twenty-one times in her *Offenbarungen*, but she never mentions him by name nor does she offer any information about him personally. She expresses affection for him as a "true friend of God," but evidence of a personal relationship cannot be demonstrated from the text of her revelations. Thus the traditional conjecture of a friendship has been based on Heinrich's correspondence, which expresses repeatedly and effusively his feelings toward Margaretha. Proof supported by the words of only *one* of the parties involved is not very compelling, but Margaretha's letter, although at present an unicum, serves to support the traditional view that she and Heinrich enjoyed a warm, personal relationship. The personal *narratio* of the letter is brief, but it is included. The fact that the section ends with *etc.* suggests that there may have been additional personal comments which the scribe for some reason did not copy. The repeated epistolary references to Heinrich's role as teacher and adviser (281-83.26-28, 46-47, 49-51, 54, 56, 60-61) cannot be explained simply as affected modesty on Margaretha's part. Just as she petitions God to strengthen and support Heinrich spiritually, Margaretha does so herself by offering words of encouragement and praise to her spiritual mentor. The

³³ Manfred Weitlauff examines in more detail the language of the nun and the priest in his "Margareta Ebner und Heinrich von Nördlingen" in *Religiöse Frauenbewegung und mystische Frömmigkeit im Mittelalter*, ed. Peter Dinzelsbacher and Dieter R. Bauer, Beihefte zum Archiv für Kulturgeschichte 28 (Cologne and Vienna, 1988), 303-52.

³⁴ Peters, *Religiöse Erfahrung*, 153-55.

contrasting treatment of the figure of the confessor in the *Offenbarungen* and in the letter can be explained in terms of the difference in genre and the distinct function of each type of work. The focus of the *Offenbarungen* is the nun's relationship to God, a relationship that is exclusive in nature and that does not require Heinrich as intermediary.

Heinrich enjoyed a friendship not only with Margaretha Ebner, but also with Christine Ebner,³⁵ who was descended from the Nuremberg branch of the Ebner family. No letters between Christine and Heinrich have been preserved, but we do have one letter from the nun to her confessor, Konrad of Füssen.

The discussion of Christine Ebner's letter to her spiritual adviser Konrad is hampered by the fact that the manuscript upon which Oehl based his New High German translation has not yet been edited.³⁶ In fact the manuscript was lost in the 1920s and has been rediscovered just recently; it is now housed at the convent at Medingen.³⁷ The manuscript, MS Md. 1, contains Christine's *Vita* and *Offenbarungen*. In his description of the Stuttgart codex which also contains the *Vita*, Ringler notes that the biography was prepared in part from information sent in letter form to a certain brother, in part by dictation;³⁸ Peters's discussion of MS Md. 1 presents conclusive evidence that the brother was Christine's confessor Konrad of Füssen.³⁹

Peters locates the letter to "bruoder Conrat" on pages 27 to 31 of MS Md. 1. The first thirty-one pages of the manuscript contain a series of episodes from Christine's life and references to contemporary events, as well as direct mention of Konrad as the writer of the book.⁴⁰ Immediately following the letter is a table of contents listing the topics included in the remaining pages of the manuscript.⁴¹ Hence, Christine's letter is not incorporated into the fabric of the *Vita* but rather appended to an introductory section. The writing of the *Vita* was probably a collaborative effort by Konrad and Christine, with Konrad in the role of scribe.⁴² The priest left

³⁵ For more on this relationship, see Strauch, *Margaretha Ebner*, LIX-LXII.

³⁶ Oehl, *Mystikerbriefe*, 790 (note to 347); and Siegfried Ringler, "Christine Ebner" in *Die deutsche Literatur des Mittelalters: Verfasserlexikon* 2:298.

³⁷ Peters, *Religiöse Erfahrung*, 157 n. 102. Peters states that she is working on an edition of the manuscript.

³⁸ Ringler, "Christine Ebner," col. 300.

³⁹ Peters, *Religiöse Erfahrung*, 161-65.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, 161.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, 163.

⁴² *Ibid.*, 162. Georg Wolfgang Karl Lochner already noted the participation of more than one writer as well as Christine's proclivity to refer to herself both in the first and third person in his *Leben und Gesichte der Christina Ebnerin, Klosterfrau zu Engelthal* (Nuremberg, 1872), 8.

Engelthal in 1324, and thus the letter may be dated 1324 *terminus post quem*.⁴³

The letter by Christine has a contracted epistolary structure. The piece begins with a greeting in which both the addressee and the writer respectively are mentioned by name, a somewhat unusual feature; epithets are more common in letters than are the names themselves. Christine's letter is in response to a request by Konrad: "Lieber Herr, Ihr habt mir entboten, ob ich nicht begehre, für Euch zu bitten."⁴⁴ Christine promises to pray for Konrad, although her prayer is but a humble one; no matter what Konrad's circumstances are, she will petition God on his behalf. The subsequent section, the *narratio*, has more the tone of a *petitio*. Here Christine asks Konrad not to scorn her advice and then proceeds to admonish her confessor. Christine adjures Konrad not to put knowledge before God, because "die Wissenschaft hat kurze Zeit, aber die Frucht der Minne bleibt ewiglich." One must be careful not to be too concerned with the world and society. Suddenly Christine seems to remember her place and asks for forgiveness if she has said too much. By way of analogy she notes that a mother speaks to her child of things she would not discuss with a stranger; Konrad has demonstrated willingness to accept Christine's advice, and she has been obliged to offer it for the sake of friendship. The *petitio* consists of formulaic exhortations for God's blessing upon Konrad. The closing is reminiscent of a benediction: "Dazu helfe uns Jesus, der minnigliche."

Christine's style contrasts substantially with Margaretha's. The letter of the former is didactic and refreshingly prosaic. Many phrases of advice call to mind Heinrich Seuse's aphoristic style, e.g., "Wer allzeit auf der Leute Willen achtet, der ist nicht Gottes Freund" and "Denn wir haben nichts Eigenes als die Zeit." There is also evidence of the modesty topos: "Doch gibt oft der Rat, der selber keinen hat."

One of Christine's fellow sisters at the Engelthal cloister was Adelheid Langmann. Two letters from Prior Ulrich of Kaisheim to Adelheid Langmann and one letter from the nun to the prior are extant. Oehl's statement that the letters are incorporated into Adelheid's *Offenbarungen* is misleading;⁴⁵ actually all three letters are woven into a section appended to the prayer which follows the *Offenbarungen*.⁴⁶ The section, consisting of about five

⁴³ Lochner maintains that the letter dates from 1307; he further asserts that it was written to Christine's brother Konrad (16), a view no longer regarded as valid because of references to the confessor Konrad in Christine's *vita*.

⁴⁴ All quotations are from Oehl, *Mystikerbriefe*, 347, and hence in modern German translation.

⁴⁵ Oehl, *Mystikerbriefe*, 393.

⁴⁶ Strauch, *Adelheid Langmann*, 93-95; and Josef Prestel, ed. and trans., *Die Offenbarungen der Margaretha Ebner und der Adelheid Langmann* (Weimar, 1939), 181-82.

manuscript pages, exists in only one manuscript, Berlin, Staatsbibliothek Preußischer Kulturbesitz mgq 866, fols. 207v-215v. Ringler posits a common source for the Berlin manuscript as well as two others containing Adelheid's *Vita* and *Offenbarungen*; he suggests an additional source to account for the supplements to MS mgq 866.⁴⁷ Such a source may well have included the original letters. Whether the editor of the section was Prior Ulrich or someone else is unclear from the text; in either case, the individual not only had access to letters by both the prior and Adelheid but also was intimately acquainted with both, as a brief summary of the supplement shows.

The section begins: "Do dise swester pat ein iren geistlichen freunt, der was ein uzerwelter freunt unsers herren Jesu Cristi und was priol zu Keisheim, daz er unsern herren für si pet" (91.29-31). Ulrich did pray for her conscientiously and he relates that on one occasion Christ spoke to him. It is their conversation and the additional words of comfort from the Lord that constitute the first episode in the section. The second episode begins with the suffering Adelheid's request that Ulrich write her words of comfort. The prior's written response is the first letter. With the conclusion of the letter the narrator introduces a third episode, a visionary experience by Adelheid, during which Mary speaks to the nun. Mary's words are in fact directed to the prior and consist of a heart-felt greeting. The narrator interrupts Mary's address within the recounting of the vision and Adelheid's letter begins.

The missive is preserved only in part, but despite its protracted form, the traditional epistolary sections can still be identified. Adelheid directs the words from Mary to the prior: "der gruez wart mir geben. den send ich dir" (94.10-11); thus Adelheid does not greet Ulrich herself. After the brief epistolary introduction, Adelheid returns to the vision. She tells of a tree covered with the most beautiful blossoms imaginable and all that is good.⁴⁸ The tree has been sent by Mary as a Christmas gift and Adelheid is to pass it on to the prior. The letter closes with a brief benediction, "got hab ere" (94.18-19), the same words found at the end of both of Ulrich's epistles. Immediately following is the prior's second letter, which contains no reference to Adelheid's words.

The episode related in Adelheid's letter is typical of many found in her *Offenbarungen*. Despite its perfunctorily epistolary style, the letter was probably genuine; the editor pared the piece to its narrative core and appended it to the main text. Of note is Adelheid's narrative stance in relating

⁴⁷ Ringler, *Viten- und Offenbarungsliteratur*, 71.

⁴⁸ See Strauch, *Adelheid Langmann*, 115-16, note to 94.1.

the vision. She begins, "do zu wart auch der sel gezeigt ein paum" (94.11), but concludes, "den paum hot mir unser frau gesant" (94.17). Clearly Adelheid is the recipient of the tree, yet the reference to *the* soul rather than *her* soul denotes a distanced perspective toward the experience. Such a stance recalls the question as to the actual narrator of the autobiographical writings by women at the time: are there in fact several narrators at work here or is there one narrator relating the experiences from different perspectives?⁴⁹

Adelheid's single and singular letter to the prior is similar to Christine's in that both are appended to another work, yet each added piece by the nun has a different function. In Adelheid's case the editor presents yet another example of the many visions that have already been described in the previous pages of the manuscript. Christine's letter to Konrad, on the other hand, offers insight into her relationship with her confessor and reflects another aspect of her spirituality, i.e., her ability to offer guidance.

From the rather scant epistolary evidence little can be gleaned concerning the relationship between Adelheid and Ulrich. In contrast, Christine's letter containing her candid advice intimates the close relationship she enjoyed with Konrad.

The final name that needs to be mentioned with regard to the epistolary tradition among fourteenth-century South German nuns is Elsbeth Stigel. Although none of her letters has survived as such, we do have excerpts of such missives contained in the second part of Heinrich Seuse's *Vita*.⁵⁰ In chapter 33, "Von des dieners geischlichen tohter," Seuse offers a description of Elsbeth in which he praises her virtues. The priest then mentions how Elsbeth wrote to him three times and how he responded to her (97.19, 98.21, 99.1).⁵¹ The use of the adverb *wider* ("again, in response") underscores the reciprocal nature of the letters. How much of the passage can be interpreted as a verbatim transcription from Elsbeth's letter and how much should be attributed to the editor of the *Vita* remains moot. Elsbeth's role in the editing of the *Exemplar*, the critical edition of Seuse's works, is also unclear. If Elsbeth did prepare the *Vita*, the inclusion of words she herself had penned to her spiritual guide would not be unthinkable.⁵² However, Seuse, who

⁴⁹ See Peters, *Religiöse Erfahrung*, 109-10.

⁵⁰ Karl Bihlmeyer, ed., *Heinrich Seuse. Deutsche Schriften* (1907; rpt. Frankfurt/Main, 1961). All quotations are from Bihlmeyer's edition.

⁵¹ In the third reference, the text reads: "Si sprach." But as Bihlmeyer notes the use of the verb "to say" is formulaic, referring in fact to writing not speaking (134* n. 1).

⁵² Bihlmeyer asserts that chapter 33 is a later addition to the *Vita* (133* n. 2), but it is unclear by whom it was supposedly added.

had received the letters, or the scribe who had access to the priest's *Nachlaß* might well have had the original letters at his disposal.

In the subsequent chapter of Seuse's *Vita* there is an interesting reference to epistolary practices. Chapter 34, "Von dem ersten begin eins anvahenden menschen," details the first stage of Elsbeth's spiritual development. Elsbeth wishes to confess her shortcomings to the Servant Seuse but she is not able to do so verbally because the priest is not present: "Nu lagen die sachen also, daz dú bihte nit moht mit worten beschehen" (100.9-10). So Elsbeth writes her transgressions on a large wax tablet and sends it to Seuse, asking that he grant her absolution. Wattenbach mentions wax tablets as being used in epistolary writing for the first version of a letter since they could be modified and reused.⁵³ In some cases the wax tablet itself was actually sent via messenger to the addressee; the addressee would then write a response on the same tablet.⁵⁴ If in fact wax tablets were still common in the fourteenth century, their use would explain why fewer letters by nuns were preserved.⁵⁵

The letters we have offer information concerning not only epistolary form and style but also the relationship between priest and nun. In her discussion of late fourteenth- and fifteenth-century female spirituality, Bynum states: "[holy women] both dominate these confessors as spiritual mothers and cling to them as vulnerable advisees, needful of a guarantee of orthodoxy."⁵⁶ Thus, religious women might be accorded the status of the spiritually superior or the spiritually inferior. But what of spiritual equality? If such a question is to be considered, one might best search for an answer not in sermons, revelations, or chronicles, but in a mutual correspondence. It is noteworthy that the development of the personal epistle in the German vernacular coincides with the flourishing of the female Dominican houses in South Germany.

From these four fourteenth-century examples we gain insights into the divergent attempts religious women made at asserting their own spiritual identity and offering the male confessors some advice and guidance of their own. Elsbeth Stagel appears as the most submissive; little of her own persona

⁵³ Bernhard Schmeidler, "Über Briefsammlungen des früheren Mittelalters in Deutschland und ihre kritische Verwertung," *Vetenskaps-Societeten i Lund. Arsbok* (1926): 8.

⁵⁴ Wilhelm Wattenbach, *Das Schriftwesen im Mittelalter*, 2d ed. (Leipzig, 1875), 44-74.

⁵⁵ Evidence that wax tablets were used by nuns during Hildegard of Bingen's time not only to write letters but to jot down notes or first drafts is found in the miniature included as the frontispiece of her *Scivias*. The illustrator depicts the abbess writing down on a wax tablet the heavenly dictations granted her through her visions; the monk Volmar then corrected these notes and recopied them onto parchment.

⁵⁶ Bynum, "Religious Women," 129.

shows through in Seuse's *Vita*, as well might be expected since the work is the description of the life of the priest. Elsbeth's weakness and reliance on Seuse are emphasized and serve to enhance the Dominican's image as a spiritual father. In Adelheid Langmann's letter we are confronted with a visionary experience. Even in this experience Adelheid's deference to the prior shows through, yet the fact that she has been granted this experience makes her worthy of the prior's respect. Christine Ebner's letter demonstrates a more assertive manner with her aphoristic and didactic tone. The nun does apologize for her prescriptive words, however, revealing that she does not consider herself to be on equal spiritual footing with Konrad. It is Margaretha Ebner's single letter to Heinrich of Nördlingen that offers the greatest step toward spiritual partnership between two equals. According to his letters, Heinrich was extremely popular among his parishioners in Basel, but no sermons or other works by him have been found nor does he claim to have been blessed with any mystical or visionary experiences. Heinrich's true accomplishment is his fostering of the mystical gifts given to others, particularly Margaretha. Margaretha responds to his nurturing of her spirit by revealing her own very personal feelings: her illness and her wish that Heinrich visit Medingen. From Heinrich's more numerous letters it is clear that he treasured their friendship highly. Based on epistolary evidence, it is between Margaretha and Heinrich that there is the most spiritual reciprocity.

More epistolary material from the late Middle Ages may be preserved in unedited manuscripts. Despite the apparent paucity of extant letters by female mystics, the letters discussed above offer solid evidence that there was indeed an exchange of letters between the priests and the nuns. In most cases other types of works by the women were considered spiritually more significant and thus were preserved. From the examples presented above, it is clear that the preservation of letters depended on factors other than the epistles' content. For example, when the letter was not sent, the convent scribe was able to include it in a manuscript containing the sister's work. Sometimes letters were appended to another work by the nun; in such cases it is apparent that the purpose was to offer the most complete depiction of the different aspects of the nun's remarkable spirituality. In yet other instances the content of the letters was preserved but the external epistolary structure was discarded. From the letters by the spiritual advisers we know that inquiries of the nuns served to foster the intellectual activity of the priests and that praise and prayers sent in letter form by the nuns to the spiritual mentors constituted a major source of emotional support.

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NAMING THE THEOLOGIES OF THE EARLY TWELFTH CENTURY

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In the twelfth century many ecclesiastical authors wrote on matters of Christian doctrine. Who among them may rightly be considered as theologians? And is it possible to put the list of names in some sort of order? If we attempt to classify them in different categories, according to what criteria should we proceed? In particular, we may ask whether the monks as a distinct group practiced a theology that is different from other theologies, and if so, what are the distinctive characteristics?

I. FOR A SOCIOLOGY OF THEOLOGIES

Questions of this kind have been asked only relatively recently. It was long assumed that only scholastic masters were really theologians. Monks and canons regular were considered just "pious authors," able to inspire devout sentiments but not able to transmit a doctrinal teaching. If some of them did so, they were often classified indistinctly with all other twelfth-century authors as "pre-scholastics."

In 1934, Étienne Gilson, in his *La théologie mystique de saint Bernard*, established the fact that Bernard "devra . . . rester pour nous un théologien que sa puissance de synthèse et sa vigueur spéculative apparentent aux plus grands."¹ From then on, little by little, historians of doctrine began to take St. Bernard and other monastic writers seriously. In 1945, a Dominican friend, in connection with what I had said about the writings of Peter the Venerable, suggested the formula "monastic theology,"² and it went into the book I was then writing about this abbot of Cluny.³ At that time too, mainly under the influence of Gilson, people were studying William of St. Thierry, Aelred of Rievaulx, Hugh and Richard of St. Victor, and other writers among the monks and canons regular. In 1953, on the occasion

¹ Étienne Gilson, *La théologie mystique de saint Bernard* (Paris, 1934), 10.

² Pie Duployé, O.P., *Les origines du Centre de Pastorale Liturgique, 1943-1949* (Mulhouse, 1968), 36-37.

³ Jean Leclercq, *Pierre le Vénérable* (Saint-Wandrille, 1946), 366-67.

of the congress held at Dijon to commemorate the eighth centenary of the death of St. Bernard, the formula and the notion of a monastic theology met with a good reception.⁴ In 1957, something I had said in a little book synthesizing the subject of monastic culture called forth the following two reactions.⁵

Father M.-D. Chenu, who that same year had just published his book, *La théologie au douzième siècle*, was delighted that these authors were being put into some sort of order. He wrote to me saying, "I am pleased about the agreement of our convictions, and all the more so in that our field of investigation is different. Our common readers will have in their minds the *truth* of 'monastic theology.' The battle is won against the troublesome, false epithet 'pre-scholastic.'"⁶ Étienne Gilson, for his part, wrote saying, "What a pity that we cannot organize facts and ideas without creating new categories! I can well understand why you want a "monastic theology," but we are now perhaps going to have fresh controversy about this tasty morsel: a word!"⁷

That was what happened in 1957, when I had discerned two sorts of theology corresponding in ecclesiastical society of the twelfth century to two different milieux which were made up by, on the one hand, the cloisters and, on the other, the cathedral schools and towns. This distinction was adopted by several scholars because it was based on the objective fact of social reality.⁸ It was still too simple, however, to account for the full complexity of the situations and the variety of the texts that were being uncovered, and it had to be brought into line with the progress being made in church history in general, and in monastic history in particular. A quarter of a century after 1953, the progress in the knowledge of the twelfth century made it no longer possible to repeat what had been written. The tableau had to be completed; it needed to be more complex, more nuanced. So, in 1978, on the occasion of a colloquium at Harvard University on "the renaissance of the twelfth century," I suggested that we distinguish not two

⁴ *Saint Bernard Théologien. Actes du Congrès de Dijon 15-19 septembre 1953* (= *Analecta sacri ordinis Cisterciensis* 9.3-4 [1953]).

⁵ Jean Leclercq, *L'amour des lettres et le désir de Dieu: Initiation aux auteurs monastiques du moyen âge* (Paris, 1957), 179-218; English trans., *The Love of Learning and the Desire for God: A Study of Monastic Culture* (New York, 1961), 233-86.

⁶ Letter of 26 September 1957, in reference to the book, *La théologie au douzième siècle*, preface by Étienne Gilson (Paris, 1957).

⁷ Letter of 24 July 1957.

⁸ Jacques Verger and Jean Jolivet, *Bernard-Abélard ou le cloître et l'école* (Paris, 1982); *From Cloister to Classroom: Monastic and Scholastic Approaches to Truth*, ed. E. Rozanne Elder, Cistercian Studies Series 90 (Kalamazoo, 1986).

but three groups of theologians.⁹ Apart from the “contemplative theology” of the cloisters and the “pastoral theology” of the cathedral schools where clerics were formed, there seemed to be also a “speculative theology” produced by the “intellectuals,” that is to say, people who identified themselves neither with those living in cloisters nor with the masters teaching in the schools. To be sure, these three kinds of theologians were not separated by absolute barriers. In some rare cases, which were notable by the very reason of their rarity, the three kinds of theologians had conflicting relationships with one another. But, generally, the contrasting nature of their theologies did not hinder exchange of views.

The controversy that Gilson had foreseen, however, flared up. During the discussion that followed my paper at Harvard, the late Nikolaus Häring regretted that instead of a single theological category, or even two theological categories, we now had three. Richard Southern, for his part, expressed a value judgment on two of them. He described monastic theology as coming from “within,” that is to say, from experience, whereas scholastic theology came “from without,” from a text. He went on to say that this was a “cold theology,” and he cited Anselm of Laon as a typical representative. Theology from the cloister, on the other hand, symbolized by Rupert of Deutz, proceeded from a very different fervor and was “warm theology.”¹⁰ These fresh precisions concern not only the sociological state of the authors but also the characteristics of their writings.

As is quite normal, and even useful, other differences of opinion continued to be voiced. Today, there are some who instead of “monastic theology”¹¹ would prefer to speak of “theology of monks”—and we should add “theology of nuns,” so as not to exclude St. Hildegard, or “theology of the monasteries,” so as not to exclude the canons regular.¹² Even so, the category “monastic theology” is still being used.¹³ Father M.-D. Chenu, at the end of the *Letter-Preface* which he wrote for Father J. E. Vilanova’s book, *Historia de la teología*, acknowledged that “monastic theology is a different kind from that of the learned theology of the schools.” He expressed his

⁹ Jean Leclercq, “The Renewal of Theology” in *Renaissance and Renewal in the Twelfth Century*, ed. Robert L. Benson and Giles Constable (Cambridge, Mass., 1982), 68-87.

¹⁰ See my survey of these discussions, “A propos de ‘La Renaissance du XII^e siècle’: Nouveau témoignages sur la ‘Théologie monastique’” in *Collectanea Cisterciensia* 40 (1978): 65-72.

¹¹ Heinrich Bacht, S.J., “Theologie der Mönche” in *Christ in der Gegenwart* 33 (1981): 51-52.

¹² Biancha Betto, *Guerrico d’Igny e suoi sermoni*, *Scritti monastici* 12 (Praglia, 1988), 122-60.

¹³ For example, in Gregorio Penco, *Medioevo monastico*, *Studia Anselmiana* 96 (Rome, 1988), 537-48 and *passim*.

pleasure that "the ferments of countless experiences which, unfortunately, have long been dealt with only in the history of spirituality are now penetrating theological science."¹⁴

The notion of monastic theology supposes that we admit several facts. First of all, the word "theology" may be applied to the doctrinal writings of twelfth-century monastic authors. Abelard did not have to invent the word "theology" applied to reflections on Christian doctrine. Already in the eleventh century, Jean de Fécamp had written a long *Confessio theologica*.¹⁵ *Theologia* had long been used in connection with the religious thought of Pseudo-Dionysius,¹⁶ and a long monastic tradition had also used it.¹⁷

Now this sort of theology had been practiced especially in the sociological milieu of the monasteries, which does not exclude the fact that a monk, in one or another of his works, may have written with an aim and along lines which were not far removed from what was being done in certain schools.¹⁸

But the theology of monks was, on the whole, to be distinguished from the other two theologies by certain specific characteristics proper to the milieux to which the authors belonged, the intention they had in writing, the readers they had in mind, and the sort of activity for which they wanted to prepare the readers. Such specificity in trend and culture is seen in a difference of mental structure and, consequently, of literary expressions. This has been stressed by Alf Härdelin, professor at the University of Uppsala, who has even suggested that the monk's theology be called a "practical

¹⁴ "Carta de M.-D. Chenu" in *De los origenes al siglo XV*, vol. 1 of Evangelista Vilanova, *Historia de la teología cristiana* (Barcelona, 1987), 20. The fourth part of this volume, pp. 361-519, deals with "Western monastic theology."

¹⁵ The most recent edition of this text is in Giorgio Maschio, *Giovanni di Fécamp, Pregare nel medioevo: La Confessio theologica e altre opere* (Milan, 1986). On the exact meaning of the word "theologia" in the *Confessio theologica* of Jean of Fécamp, fresh precisions are given by Maschio in "Influssi agostiniani sulla spiritualità medievale: Jean de Fécamp," *Collectanea Augustiniana* 3 (forthcoming).

¹⁶ Peter Dronke, "Theologia veluti quaedam poetria: Quelques observations sur la fonction des images poétiques chez Jean Scot" in *Jean Scot Érigène et l'histoire de la philosophie* (Paris, 1977), 243.

¹⁷ Jean Leclercq, *Études sur le vocabulaire monastique du moyen âge*, *Studia Anselmiana* 48 (Rome, 1961), Index, p. 165.

¹⁸ G. Mathon had already shown that this author can practice one type of theology in his *Confessio theologica* and another in his *Confessio fidei* ("Jean de Fécamp, théologien monastique?" in *La Normandie bénédictine aux temps de Guillaume le Conquérant, XI^e siècle* [Lille, 1967], 485-500). Likewise, Brian Stock has stressed that the distinction between monastic theology and scholastic theology cannot be "overly rigid" (*The Implications of Literacy: Written Language and Models of Interpretation in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries* [Princeton, 1983], 525). I have insisted on this same point in the introduction to Maschio, *Pregare nel medioevo*.

theology," although the formula needs to be correctly understood.¹⁹ Reflection and speculation are not excluded, but both the origin and the aim are always a lived and spiritual experience deriving from the Bible and expressed in the language of Holy Scripture. Such a theology entails the implementation of homogenous linguistics.²⁰

So a particular social milieu fostered a certain psychology and language. It is therefore necessary for the psycho-sociology of theologies to be accompanied by the linguistics—and even the psycho-linguistics—of theologies.

II. DISCERNING THEOLOGICAL SYSTEMS

The application of the word "systematic" to theology is of late origin and it was used so precisely that we may rightly wonder whether we ought not to respect this use. More than fifty years ago, a respected master drew my attention to the fact in terms which he took up again when he published his lectures in book form: "the word 'systematic' originally means a whole made up of different parts, such as a discourse, a political reality (the city, *polis*, is a *systema*), a constellation. The Stoics, in particular, spoke of the 'system of the world.' In the same sense, authors of the sixteenth century used the same formula in connection with the structure of the world as astronomy had then revealed it. When Kant speaks of a system in philosophy, he means a set of truths which can be rigorously deduced from certain principles. This notion of an order proceeding from a principle then became determinant in the concept system, and it is in this way that theologians of recent centuries conceive of a 'theological system.'"²¹

Such considerations on the original meaning of "system" and its application to different sciences, and then on its application to theology, have been enlarged upon by other historians.²² They all refer to the author who, at the start of this century, was the first to go into this mode of expression, O. Ritschl.²³ Subsequently, Father Y. Congar, pointed out how "towards

¹⁹ Alf Härdelin, "Monastische Theologie: Eine praktische Theologie vor der Scholastik," *Zeitschrift für katholische Theologie* 109 (1987): 400-415.

²⁰ These authors of monastic theology have been clearly presented, in connection with the article cited in the preceding note, by Bernard de Givé in "Bulletin de spiritualité monastique," *Collectanea Cisterciensia* 51 (1989): [370]-[371]. See also Ulrich Köpf, "Dogmengeschichte oder Theologiegeschichte?" *Zeitschrift für Theologie und Kirche* 85 (1988): 470.

²¹ Anselm Stoltz, *Introductio in sacram theologiam*, vol. 1 of *Manuale theologiae dogmaticae* (Freiburg, 1941), 124.

²² For example, A. Menne, "System" in *Lexikon für Theologie und Kirche*, 2d ed., vol. 9 (Freiburg, 1964), col. 1264.

²³ O. Ritschl, *System und systematische Methode in der Geschichte des wissenschaftlichen Sprachgebrauchs und der philosophischen Methodologie* (Bonn, 1906), 40-54.

the mid-eighteenth century, theology was submitted, especially in Germany, to the influence of the philosophy of Wolf. This influence is perceptible in what concerns the content of theology, and even more so perhaps in connection with the method. Wolf accentuates the tendency of the men who inspire him, Spinoza with his *More geometrico*, Leibniz with his *Systema theologiae* (published only in 1819), and ends up with what was to be named the *systema* or the *methodus scientifica*: a method and geometrical kind characterized by research of a deductive nature by which all elements were attached to a single principle." The notion of "system" and its "systematic" process developed mainly in Protestant theology, from the start of the seventeenth century until the middle of the eighteenth. It was "probable that the example of Protestant theology which, very early on, juxtaposed to Scripture a more constructed 'system' than that of the old scholastic *summae*, had an influence on Catholic theology. In the second half of the eighteenth century, Catholic theology readily attempted to set itself up as a "system," following the *methodus scientifica* of the school of Wolf."²⁴ And quite recently, Falk Wagner has given great importance to "systematics" in the elaboration of the dogmatic, historical, and ethical theology of modern times, "Neuzeit."²⁵

Is it possible to apply this category to the theologies of the Middle Ages and in particular to those of the twelfth century? Henri Cloes has done so in a long and well informed article written in 1958.²⁶ The author considers nineteen theological syntheses of the first half of the twelfth century, from the works of the school of Laon to the *Sentences* of Peter Lombard. He first studies the "systematization" of the whole of each synthesis and then the systematization of the particular sections of which they are composed. From the start he shows that in these works, "the aim of the organization of knowledge is essentially practical and, if the word was not equivocal, we would say it was pedagogical":²⁷ the purpose is to instruct the clerics, the *scholares* who are studying in the urban schools. Cloes analyzes each synthesis very carefully, attempting to discern the principle behind the systematization of each synthesis and of each of the parts that are seen to be common to all the syntheses. Finally he makes a value judgment

²⁴ (Y.) M.-J. Congar, "Théologie" in *Dictionnaire de Théologie Catholique*, vol. 15.1 (Paris, 1946), cols. 433-34.

²⁵ Falk Wagner, *Was ist Theologie? Studien zu ihrem Begriff und Thema in der Neuzeit* (Gütersloh, 1989). Some also use the term "systemic," as for example, Joel Roth, *The Halakhic Process: A Systemic Analysis* (New York, 1986).

²⁶ Henri Cloes, "La systématisation théologique pendant la première moitié du XII^e siècle," *Ephemerides theologicae Lovanienses* 34 (1958): 277-329.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, 281.

on individual syntheses and compares them. No monastic author is quoted, and among the canons regular Cloes mentions only Hugh of St. Victor, whose monastery was in Paris. No comparison is made between the witnesses of such theological systematizations and authors writing in the monasteries. Thus their teaching is considered as belonging to a kind of thought—and, we may say, theology—which is different from that of the scholastics.

The study of the systematization of theology in the twelfth century has recently been taken up again by Marcia Colish, who does not refer to the article by Cloes.²⁸ Unlike Cloes, she begins by describing, according to one or another of the many works, two representative authors of traditional monasticism, namely those who were later to be called “Benedictines”: Rupert of Deutz and Honorius Augustodunensis, that is of Augsburg. Rupert, like William of St. Thierry, was for a long time a Benedictine and came from Liège in the French-speaking region of modern Belgium, which in those days was part of the Germanic empire. He was a monk at the abbey of Saint-Laurent of Liège, and it was from there that he set out to oppose Anselm of Laon and William of Champeaux, two scholastic masters. Later on, in 1120, he became abbot of Deutz, near Cologne, in the northern Rhineland.²⁹ As for Honorius, he seems to have written in Bavaria, the southern part of modern Germany. Colish acknowledges that “his *summa* is decidedly monastic in character. . . . Rupert’s entire enterprise yokes systematic theology to the kind of meditative, reflective *lectio divina* specific to the monastic calling, although with a stress on fundamental doctrine rather than on ethical edification.”³⁰

The *Elucidarium* of Honorius is very rightly described as didactic. Destined to prepare monks for preaching, it actually reaches the wider public of readers belonging to ecclesiastical circles. Colish goes on to point out that this was precisely the goal common to all authors of systematic theology: to train students for study and for pastoral activity.³¹ She then describes

²⁸ Marcia Colish, “Systematic Theology and Theological Renewal in the Twelfth Century,” *The Journal of Medieval and Renaissance Studies* 18 (1988): 135–56.

²⁹ On this chronology, see John H. Van Engen, *Rupert of Deutz* (Berkeley, 1983), xvii–xix. The contrast between “the spiritual understanding of a monk,” in Rupert of Deutz, and “the learning of the schools” has been emphasised by John Scott, “Sacred and Profane Learning in Rupert of Deutz,” *Tjurunga: An Australian Benedictine Review* 36 (May, 1989): 10–25, esp. 36.

³⁰ Colish, “Systematic Theology,” 139.

³¹ *Ibid.*, 140. Recently Marie-Odile Garrigues has rightly written: “L’oeuvre d’Honorius se divise en deux parties principales, l’une à l’usage externe de l’enseignement et de la polémique, l’autre à l’usage interne des moines” (“Une oeuvre retrouvée d’Honorius Augustodunensis?” *Studia monastica* 31 [1989]: 40). The monastic character of the work as a whole, determined by its claustral setting, is stressed on pp. 46–48.

the systems of Gilbert Porretanus, Robert Pullen, Roland of Bologna, Robert of Melun, and Peter Lombard. She formulates an excellent critical judgment of Abelard. The systems are all different and each one has its limits which are duly recognized. This survey of seven authors, including two Benedictines, brings up the question of the distinction between scholastic theology and monastic theology.

Nothing is said about other representatives of claustral life in the period studied, such as, for example, Gerhoh of Reichersberg, the Carthusian Guiges the Elder, and Benedictines of various regions (Godefroid of Admont in Carinthia, Frowin of Engelberg in modern Switzerland, Idung of Prüfening, the anonymous author of the *Speculum virginum*, Anselm of Canterbury, Drogo, Pierre de Celle, Thomas of Morigny, Arnald of Bonneval, Hervé du Bourg-Dieu, William and Raoul of Flay, Hugh of Amiens, William of St. Thierry, who spent the last years of his life as a Cistercian, and many other monks). Among the Black monks who have left, among other writings, one or another didactic work, Rupert and Honorius stand out as exceptions, even in the so-called Germanic regions.

It is not possible to pass over in silence, in the same twelfth-century period, Cistercians such as Bernard of Clairvaux, Aelred of Rievaulx, Isaac of Stella, Guerric of Igny, Geoffrey of Auxerre, Hugh of Pontigny, and others. To my knowledge, no one has ever pretended that "it was the monastic theologians in the Cistercian tradition who were the real proponents of a theological renaissance in that period."³² They are, however, being studied today as theologians, at least as much as so many forgotten Sententiaries, some of which have not yet been edited.

To the first and most influential of these writers, St. Bernard of Clairvaux, and to William of St. Thierry, John Marenbon has given an honorable place, even though he deals with philosophy rather than theology. He has very rightly perceived that they and those for whom they wrote had "a very different vocation" from that of the professors and students who flocked to Paris. The result was "a very distinctive type of mystical theology, literary in its expression and wide-ranging in its use of patristic sources."³³ So, among the "varieties of theology," "the systematic theology of Anselm of Laon, William of Champeaux and their schools" is very different from "the mystical theology of Cistercian writers such as Bernard of Clairvaux and William of St. Thierry."³⁴

³² Colish, "Systematic Theology," 137.

³³ John Marenbon, *Early Medieval Philosophy (480-1150): An Introduction* (London, 1983), 117.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, 143. The type of doctrine written by William of St. Thierry has been very exactly situated with regard to the teaching of the schools of his times by Thomas Renna, "The

We have here a distinction between "systematic theology" and "mystical theology." But, we may ask, do the writings of Cistercians, Benedictines, and canons merit being described as "mystical," a word whose exact meaning is not specified?

The distinction between "monastic" and "scholastic" is based on an objective fact of the sociological order of things, namely the existence of two different milieux and, consequently, two different ways of approaching the study of Christian doctrine. The two approaches have different aims: one has the contemplative life as its aim; the other has pastoral activity as its aim. This does not exclude the fact that some monk or canon may also have written occasionally for pedagogical ends. Applied to the twelfth century, the modern category of "systematic" helps us to discern, in the teachings of the various authors, certain organizing principles, and we notice that these principles vary in keeping with the personal option of each author until Peter Lombard's *Sentences* introduced some sort of practical order which, little by little, became the general rule. Of Abelard, the most illustrious theologian of those times, it has been said that never, "neither here [in the *Sic et non*] nor elsewhere does he use his own method systematically."³⁵ Strictly speaking, he belongs neither to the monastic category nor to the scholastic category but rather to the third one which I have already suggested; as for the first two, it remains that "the lines between scholastic and monastic thought are not so hard and fast."³⁶ Such distinctions are not oppositions, but if we want to put some sort of order in this immense literary production, then we must take into consideration the objective and sociological facts that, still today, offer us a very good criterion for any interpretation.

III. PRIESTHOOD AND THEOLOGY

From the beginning of the twelfth century, the different "milieux" within the Church became more and more diversified, and the members of each different milieu became more and more aware of living their own specific identity. From then on, many monks were being ordained to the priesthood. Does that mean that they were necessarily oriented to pastoral activity

Jewish Law According to William of Saint Thierry," *Studia monastica* 31 (1989): 49-67, esp. 51.

³⁵ Colish, "Systematic Theology," 146.

³⁶ Ibid., 155. For this reason, it has been possible to discern a "system" in the corpus of the works of St. Anselm, thanks to the very rich study of James Gollinck, "*Flesh*" as Transformation Symbol in the Theology of Anselm of Canterbury: Historical and Transpersonal Perspectives, Texts and Studies in Religion 22 (Lewiston/Queenston, 1985). According to this author, the organizing motif of the Anselmian system is the theme of the "flesh" (*caro, corpus*).

requiring them to cultivate a more or less systematic catechetical or theological knowledge? In his book, *L'ideale monastico nelle polemiche del secolo XII sulla vita religiosa*,³⁷ Giovanni Lunardi has studies on the subject on the basis of his examination of thirty-six texts written between 1119 and 1174 by known or anonymous authors living and writing in several countries: England, the region we now call Austria, and especially France.³⁸ He has classified them according to the milieux to which they belong: the secular clergy, the regular clergy (that is to say, the Augustinian canons), monks from the traditional orders, and monks from new orders. Among the monks, the question of the priesthood was set differently according to whether or not it entailed pastoral duties and, if so, whether or not they were to be carried out within the cloister or without. Monks who claimed, in face of clerics, the right to the priesthood generally did so not with a view to pastoral activities—catechizing, preaching, and administering the sacraments in a parish. But in addition to their traditional prayer life, they celebrated the Eucharist and devoted themselves to the pastoral care of the monks of their community. Contrary to the canons regular, whose vocation entailed preaching outside the cloister,³⁹ monks remained faithful to the kind of theology that was proper to their own milieu.

Dealing with *The Cloister versus the School*, Stephen C. Ferruolo makes a fair judgment on St. Bernard's attitude to the schools, and what he has to say on the point in connection with St. Bernard applies equally on the whole to other monastic writers. From two distinct milieux and two styles of life there resulted two ways of approaching Christian doctrine.⁴⁰ Between these two tendencies there was if not opposition—apart from one or two real conflicts—at least some sort of strained relationship which was settled to varying degrees between individuals. An institutional solution to the problem was found in 1218 by the Preaching Friars, who were religious, priests, and teachers: "the Dominicans solved the dilemma by establishing their own house of studies in Paris, making it possible both to study and to teach others without leaving the cloister."⁴¹

Abbaye St.-Maurice, Clervaux.

³⁷ Giovanni Lunardi, *L'ideale monastico nelle polemiche del secolo XII sulla vita religiosa* (Noci, 1970).

³⁸ Lunardi gives a chronological list of these writings and of their authors (ibid., 19-20).

³⁹ Caroline Walker Bynum, *Docere verbo et exemplo: An Aspect of Twelfth-Century Spirituality* (Missoula, Mont., 1979).

⁴⁰ Stephen C. Ferruolo, *The Origins of the University: The Schools of Paris and their Critics, 1100-1215* (Stanford, 1985), 64-67.

⁴¹ Ibid., 92.

RAMON LULL'S EARLY LIFE: NEW DOCUMENTS

J. N. Hillgarth

The scarcity of documents concerning Ramon Lull (1232-1316), and particularly concerning the first half of his life, is well known. The Latin text of his *Vita coetanea*, while certainly contemporary (it was written in Paris in 1311 and apparently reproduces Lull's own memories as an old man), leaves us with many unresolved problems.¹ It hardly refers to the years before his conversion to a religious life (about 1263) and completely omits the decade from 1276 to 1287.² Lull began to write about 1271. We have some 238 surviving works by him. But it was not until 1290 that he began to indicate the date and place of their composition. His earlier writings can only be dated by internal arguments.³ This means that any new information on his life, however unimportant it may be in itself, is worth noting. This article presents three documents only discovered recently (by a scholar whose primary interest lies elsewhere) and two totally unknown until now, and tries to place them in the context of what was already known. The appendices contain two longer documents known up to now only through faulty eighteenth-century transcriptions; since they are of crucial importance for Lull's early life, they have been republished here from the originals. All but one of these documents are taken from a series of thirteenth-century volumes containing legal transactions, many of them proceedings before royal officials in Majorca.⁴ The bad material state of

¹ See Alvaro Santamaría, *Ramon Llull y la Corona de Mallorca: Sobre la estructura y elaboración de la "Vita Raimundi Lulli"* (Mallorca, 1989).

² See Anthony Bonner, *Selected Works of Ramon Llull (1232-1316)*, 2 vols. (Princeton, N. J., 1985), 1:10 n. 27 (= idem, *Obres selectes de Ramon Llull [1232-1316]*, 2 vols. [Mallorca, 1989], 1:8 n. 21).

³ The arguments presented by Bonner, *Selected Works* 1:56-57 (*Obres selectes* 1:58-59), are very convincing. The catalogue of works in *Obres selectes* 2:539-89 modifies that published in *Selected Works* and is the best available today.

⁴ Palma, Arxiu del Regne de Mallorca (ARM), Reial Patrimoni (RP), Escrivania de Cartes Reials (ECR), 341-49. These bulky volumes consist of gatherings from different periods, assembled in a random manner at a much later date; they generally contain several documents per page. I have gone carefully through these volumes except for 342, which contains no documents later than 1254 (and is therefore unlikely to have anything of interest

the volumes, the cursive hands, and difficulties over dating probably explain why these volumes have been, until recently, relatively little used. They provide, however, invaluable information for the earlier part of Lull's life and also, indirectly, help to shed light on a number of its facets, such as his pilgrimage to Compostela.⁵

On the basis of calculations back from later events, it is generally agreed that Lull was born in the City of Majorca (only known as Palma from the eighteenth century onwards), in 1232-33, a few years after Majorca had been conquered from Islam by James I of Aragon.⁶ The first relatively secure date in his life is that of his marriage to Blanca, the daughter of Ferrer Picany, which was celebrated before (probably not long before) 24 September 1257. This date appears in a document in which Blanca constituted her husband "Ramon Lull, son of the late Ramon Lull" her procurator.⁷ Until recently this document, together with a few brief references in Lull's works and in the *Vita coetanea*, provided "all we know of more than one-third of Lull's long life," that is, of the thirty years that preceded his conversion of ca. 1263.⁸

A recent article by Ricard Soto i Company has helped to clarify the enigmas of the century that followed the Christian conquest of Majorca. Studying the series of volumes already alluded to that contains court records of the period, Soto cites eight documents on the Lull family and no less than thirty-two on the Picanyes.⁹ The first Ramon Lull, our Ramon's father, was already known from two documents of February 1242, which confirm

on Ramon Lull *junior*), and 346, which consists almost entirely of fourteenth-century documents.

⁵ Usually dated 1265; see *Vita coetanea* 1.9, ed. H. Harada in vol. 8 of *Raimundi Lulli Opera latina*, Corpus Christianorum. Continuatio mediaevalis 34 (Turnhout, 1980), 277. ARM, RP, ECR 344, fols. 48v-54r, contain five wills dated 1256, made by Majorcans (three women and two men), "proponens ire visitare limina beati Jacobi." The same volume (fol. 85v) contains a will made by "Berengaria uxor P. de Claromonte," who intended "ire apud sanctam Mariam de Salis [?]." Other wills (e.g., fol. 117r) were made by Majorcans about to set out on voyages to Alexandria or (ECR 345, fol. 27r-v, dated 1259) simply to move to Catalonia (the same intention is expressed in a will of 1268, ECR 347, fol. 176v). The fact that a will was considered necessary in these cases implies the same intention as Lull's in the *Vita* (loc. cit.), "numquam revertendi ad propria."

⁶ See my *Ramon Lull and Lullism in Fourteenth-Century France* (Oxford, 1971), 1 n. 4.
⁷ Appendix 1, below.

⁸ Bonner, *Selected Works* 1:12 (*Obres selectes* 1:10).

⁹ Ricard Soto i Company, "Alguns casos de gestió 'colonial' feudal a la Mallorca del segle XIII," *Estudi General* 5-6 (1985-86): 345-69. All the transcriptions that follow are my own. Curiously enough, Soto does not cite either of the two important documents already published by Pasqual and transcribed anew in Appendices 1 and 2.

information found in the *Llibre del Repartiment* drawn up ten years before.¹⁰ The Lull family came from Barcelona and took part in the conquest. The *Llibre* states that Ramon Lull *senior* received as a reward lands near the City of Majorca and also in Pollença.¹¹ In the decades that followed the conquest Majorca was full of slaves.¹² Soto is the first to document the fact that in 1246 a certain Vidal Picaperes sold Ramon Lull *senior* a Muslim slave, "Ali of Bugia," or Bougie—a city in north Africa (in Algeria today) with which Majorcans often traded and which Ramon Lull *junior* was to learn to know only too well in later years.¹³

In October or November 1259 Ramon Lull *junior* appears in another document discovered by Soto. Here he names procurators to "recover" a white, baptized slave, named Bernard, who had apparently run away from his house. As is normal in documents of this type, which concern slaves who had disappeared, the slave is described in great detail. We learn he was short and had two broken teeth and thick black, non-curly hair.¹⁴ In 1259 Lull had been married for at least two years. He had his own house and (like his father, who had died in or before 1257) his own slaves. The

¹⁰ The two documents, of 2 and 8 February 1242, cited by Soto, were already published by E. Aguiló, "Establecimientos hechos en 1241 [sic] por la familia Lull," *Bolletí de la Societat Arqueològica Lul·liana* 2 (1887-88): 282. They are also cited by Santamaría, *Ramon Lull y la Corona de Mallorca*, 84, 96, 105.

¹¹ Soto, "Alguns casos," 349, 351, citing his edition of the *Còdex Català del Llibre del Repartiment de Mallorca* (Barcelona, 1984), 47, 58 (= *Colección de documentos inéditos del Archivo General de la Corona de Aragón* 11 [Barcelona, 1856], 10, 17).

¹² In 1266, for instance, Ramon de Vallegarna (or Vallegarnera) owned almost fifty slaves, the majority Muslims but some baptized, who worked his lands (Arxiu Vinagrella [Llubi, Majorca], perg. 960). Ramon was not a noble.

¹³ ARM, RP, ECR 343, fol. 118r, cited by Soto, "Alguns casos," 361: "Vitalis Picaperes vendo vobis R. Lul quendam sarracenum meum laurum, nomine Ali de Bugia, qui non est ablatus [has not been brought in from somewhere else] . . . nec de pace et treuga domini regis . . . precio CXVII sol." The date falls between the 13 November 1246 ("idus novembris") of fol. 117r and 20 November ("XII kal. decembris") of fol. 118v. For Majorcan trade with Bougie, see Charles-Emmanuel Dufourcq, *L'Espagne catalane et le Maghrib aux XIII^e et XIV^e siècles* (Paris, 1966), 601-4 (and passim). For Lull there (in 1306-7), see *Vita* 9.35-10.40, pp. 297-300.

¹⁴ ARM, RP, ECR 343, fol. 82r, cited by Soto, "Alguns casos," 361: "R. Lul, filius R. Lul, facio vos F. de Granata et . . . P[etrum] procuratores meos ad servum recuperandum unum baptizatum meum album, nomine Bernardum, et habet duos dentes fractos . . . et habet capillos negros et plans et enim [?] spissos, et [est] de statura parva." (The dots indicate words I cannot read.) The nearest date (fol. 81v), in the same hand as our document, is 25 October ("VIII kal. novembris"); on fol. 83r another gathering begins. The series of documents that precedes ours is dated 1259; therefore our document belongs to this year and not to 1256 (as Soto). I read "servum," not "secundum," as Soto, which does not seem to me to mean anything. I am also sure that "F. de Granata" is the name of the first procurator; he appears again in ECR 343, fol. 420r, and in ECR 349, fol. 202r.

Vita coaetanea states that around 1265 Lull bought a slave from whom he could learn Arabic, and this was clearly not the first slave he owned.¹⁵

Although these documents do not tell us a great deal about Ramon Lull's life before his conversion, they confirm his assured social rank and economic situation. This would have been assisted by his marriage alliance with the Picany family, who seem not only to have owned more land than the Lulls but to have been prosperous merchants and slave-owners.¹⁶ When the *Vita* says that, after his conversion, Lull "soon sold his possessions," it adds "he reserved a small portion for the support of his wife and children."¹⁷ He continued to live with his "family," that is, not only with his wife and children but also with his slaves, and he was able to buy the Moorish slave already alluded to.¹⁸ In September 1264, according to a previously unknown document, Lull appeared as witnessing a document in which Jaume Picany acknowledged a debt. Jaume (probably Lull's brother-in-law) was the leading member of the family and the only Picany to attain the rank of knight (in 1257).¹⁹ In 1271 Lull and his wife Blanca Picany were still jointly engaged in business. On 10 November of this year they rented out a farm they held from the bishop of Majorca to Guillem de Sant Joan.²⁰

The legal situation changed on 13 March 1276 when Blanca Picany appeared before the royal bailiff to ask that he name a guardian for her goods and those of her children. While such a request was not unusual, the reason given was probably unique, because "Ramon Lull, her husband, had become so contemplative that he did not intend to concern himself with the administration of his temporal possessions." The bailiff agreed to the request. He stated that an enquiry into Lull's life revealed that he had indeed accepted "the contemplative life." The named guardian, P. Gaucerandi,

¹⁵ *Vita* 2.11, p. 278: "Emptoque sibi ibidem [in the City of Majorca] quodam Sarraceno, linguam arabicam didicit ab eodem." See Bonner, *Selected Works* 1:18. The document in Appendix 1 shows that Ramon Lull *senior* had died by the time it was drawn up.

¹⁶ See Soto, "Alguns casos," 354-56, 364-66.

¹⁷ *Vita* 1.9, p. 277: "venditis mox possessionibus suis, reservatis tamen inde paucis ad sustentationem suae coniugis ac liberorum suorum." See Bonner, *Selected Works* 1:16.

¹⁸ The "familia" appears in *Vita* 2.12, p. 279. Bonner, *Selected Works* 1:21 n. 82, considers that by this time (ca. 1274) Lull was "living apart from his [immediate] family"; the documents cited here suggest this was not the case.

¹⁹ ARM, RP, ECR 344, fol. 32v (not cited by Soto). Although the document, like those cited in nn. 13 and 14 above, is undated, on fol. 30v we have "III nonis septembris" (3 September) 1264, on fol. 31r "II nonis" (4 September), and on fol. 33v "nonis septembris" (5 September). For Jaume Picany, see Soto, "Alguns casos," 355.

²⁰ Alvaro Santamaría, *Ramon Lull y la Corona de Mallorca*, 105, describes this transaction. The document (from the Arxiu de la Catedral de Mallorca) was published by Gabriel Llabrés, "Documento inédito de Ramón Lull," *Bolletí de la Societat Arqueològica Lul·liana* 21 (1926-27): 354-55.

a citizen of Majorca, was a relation of Blanca's. No doubt he had already agreed to take on the duty formally imposed on him by the court.²¹ The possessions referred to in the document were evidently still considerable. It was probably after 1276 that a marriage was arranged between the noble Pere de Sentmenat and Magdalena, the daughter of Ramon and Blanca. Such an alliance would not have been possible unless the bride had possessed a notable dowry.²²

Another document discovered by Soto shows us that despite Lull's "contemplative" state, he remained in touch with his wife's relations. By May 1278 Jaume Picany was dead. His mother, Guillema, as guardian for her grandson, another Jaume, auctioned off a vineyard in the neighbourhood of the City of Majorca. One of the witnesses was Ramon Lull.²³ This document is of special interest because it attests Lull's presence in Majorca during a period in which, up to now, we have had to depend on conjecture as to his whereabouts.

The last document to be cited here has not previously been published. It also helps to shed further light on the obscure decade in Lull's life from 1276 to 1287. Unlike the documents discussed so far it does not come from the Arxiu del Regne de Mallorca in Palma but from the Arxiu de la Corona d'Aragó in Barcelona. This archive possesses two small volumes with accounts of the Royal Patrimony (Real Patrimoni) of Majorca, kept by "Arnau Burgues" (or "Burges"), royal bailiff of the island, and datable to 1284 and 1285.²⁴ The second of these volumes contains a reference to the oath that the inhabitants of Majorca were obliged to take to Alfonso III of Aragon when he took forcible possession of the island in November

²¹ See Appendix 2 below.

²² For Magdalena's husband, see my *Ramon Lull* (cited above, n. 6), 142-43. We now have a good text of Lull's will, where he is cited; see *Diplomatari del monestir de Santa Maria de La Real de Mallorca*, ed. Pau Mora and Lorenzo Andrial (Palma de Mallorca, 1982), 1:441-42.

²³ ARM, RP, ECR 349, fol. 4v. For a summary of this document see Soto, "Alguns casos," 366 (it is document no. XXX of the Picany series, not XIX, as is stated on p. 361). Apart from "R. Lul" and "P. Spanyol" (cited by Soto), Berenguer Cuch, P. Sa Coma, and Berenguer Draperii also appear as witnesses. Cuch had already appeared as "fideiussor" in the document of 13 March 1276 (Appendix 2). The document is undated but on fol. 4r we have "III nonis madii" (5 May) 1278, and the document following ours is dated "III idus madii" (13 May).

²⁴ ACA, Cancillería, Varia 241 ("Comte d'En A. Burgues"), undated but certainly of 1285, and Varia 242, which is entitled (fol. 2r): "Anno Domini M^o CC^o octuagesimo quarto. Aquest es lo Comde que N'Arnau Burges, batle de Maylorch[a], rebe dels rentes de la Ila de Maiorcha e de Manorcha." Burgues often appears in contemporary Majorcan documents, for instance in ARM, RP, ECR 349, fol. 122: "Burgesium baiulus Maioricarum." I owe my knowledge of the volumes in Barcelona to my friend En Jaume Riera i Sans, of the Arxiu de la Corona d'Aragó.

1285.²⁵ One can infer that the two volumes were taken to Barcelona by Alfonso after his conquest of the Balearics.

In the volume dated 1284, among the “Dades que a fetas N’Arnau Burges batle” (the “Payments made by Arnau Burges, bailiff”),²⁶ there appears a gift to Ramon Lull from James II of Majorca which consisted of the substantial sum of thirty pounds. This amount surpassed the seventeen pounds, ten solidi given by James to two Franciscan friars at the same time.²⁷ It can be compared to the thirty-six pounds, ten solidi Lull was to receive in 1305 from the nephew of the king of Majorca, James II of Aragon. This later grant was intended as an annual pension, but with the condition that Lull should reside in James II of Aragon’s territories.²⁸ In 1284 James II of Majorca did not attach this condition to his gift. Burgues’s accounts note that a certain Bernat Garau was to receive the thirty pounds for Lull. This seems to indicate that at this time Lull was outside Majorca. But the interesting point is that the *Vita*’s insistence on James II’s support for his subject—and perhaps former servant—is now corroborated from an independent source.²⁹ The *Vita* states that Lull was summoned to Montpellier by James (about 1275).³⁰ We know from a papal bull of 1276 confirming the foundation that James, who had just become king of Majorca after his father’s death, founded a Franciscan house at Miramar on the north

²⁵ ACA, Cancillería, Varia 241, fol. 25v: “Item, dona a.N Sala per I libre que feu fer a escriure aquels que juren feltat al senyor rey—I s. IIII d.” After Alfonso II of Catalonia (III of Aragon) took possession of the City of Majorca on 19 November 1285, the City and the towns of the island appointed syndics to do homage to him. See A. Campaner, *Cronicon Mayoricense* (Palma, 1881), 21-24. There is a direct reference to the king in Varia 242, fol. 80r (after the accounts): “El senyor rey Alfonso devia tornar del blat quel tenia en rebuda que presta als promens CCCC lbrs., menys VI diners.”

²⁶ Varia 242, fol. 55r.

²⁷ Varia 242, fol. 76r, among the “dades” made after the feast of St. Michael (29 September), “en l’any M.CC.LXXXIII,” “Item, dona a frare Johan Raolf e a frare Martí de la Orde dels Freres Manors per manament del senyor rey—XVII lb. X s.,” and (fol. 77r), “Item, dona a.N R. Lul per manament del senyor rey que rabe En Bernat Garau per el—XXX lb.”

²⁸ See my *Ramon Lull* (cited above, n. 6), 65. The document in question—in Antoni Rubió y Lluch, *Documents per l’història de la cultura catalana mig-eva*, 2 vols. (Barcelona, 1908-21), 1:39—grants Lull “duos solidos barchinonenses . . . diebus singulis toto tempore vite vestre quibus fueritis in partibus dominacionis nostre.” When Lull was actually present in “curia nostra” he would receive 4 s. a day. As Lull never spent, so far as we know, a whole year in the Crown of Aragon, it does not seem that he could ever have received 36 pounds a year as a result of this grant.

²⁹ The *Vita* 1.2, p. 272, begins by styling Lull “senescallus mensae regis Maioricarum.” Although the office of seneschal is not documented in Majorca, given the autobiographical basis of the account it seems safe to deduce the existence of some dependent relationship between Prince James (not king until 1276, but heir to Majorca since 1256) and Lull during the secular period of Lull’s life.

³⁰ *Vita* 3.16-17, pp. 281-82.

coast of the island. Both the *Vita* and a number of Lull's works state that this house was founded at Lull's request and was intended to train missionaries to Islam; the second point, but not the first, is specified in the papal document that confirms the foundation.³¹ Burgues's accounts do not refer to Miramar; no doubt it was considered to be adequately endowed. It is not clear whether or not the two Franciscans who appear in the accounts belonged to Miramar.³² In any case, James's gift of 1284 constitutes the first documentary proof to become available of the protection he had apparently extended to Lull over a period of years. One of the effects of the war between France and Aragon that broke out in 1285 was James's loss of the island to his cousins of Aragon; it was only in 1298 and because of papal intervention that he was eventually able to recover it. Lull's writings indicate his sympathy for James.³³ During the period of Aragonese rule over Majorca Lull appears only to have returned to the island in 1294 for one very brief visit.³⁴

³¹ See Sebastián Garcías Palou, *El Miramar de Ramon Llull* (Palma de Mallorca, 1977), esp. 45, 319-20.

³² They might have belonged to the much more important convent in the City of Majorca. Alfonso III and his successor James II of Aragon continued to protect Miramar (Garcías Palou, *Miramar*, 322-26, but note that the two first documents issued by Alfonso should be dated 1286, not 1285, and the dates of the other documents should also be corrected to correspond to our present era).

³³ See *Blanquerna* 4.92, ed. S. Galmés, *Els Nostres Clàssics*, 4 vols. (Barcelona, 1935-54), 2:234. Anthony Bonner, "La data de *Blanquerna*," *Estudios Lulianos* 26 (1986): 143-47, while arguing convincingly in favour of the traditional date of 1283, admits the possibility of later additions such as this passage, which speaks of a king (virtually certainly James II of Majorca) "disinherited for no fault [he] had committed."

³⁴ See my *Ramon Llull*, 145 n. 37.

APPENDIX I

Ramon Lull is constituted his wife's procurator.

This document and that contained in Appendix 2 were first published by the Majorcan Cistercian Antoni Ramon Pasqual in 1778. As a note in the register containing the second document indicates, they had been copied by or for him as early as 1745, and it was no doubt only the difficulty in finding a publisher that delayed their appearance in print. Pasqual (1708-91) had been trained in Germany under the Austrian Lullist Ivo Salzinger (d. 1728), the editor of the great Mainz edition of Lull's works. In 1731 Pasqual entered the abbey of La Real in Majorca; he became its abbot in 1756. For many years he taught Lullian philosophy in the University of Majorca. His two volumes published in defense of Lull in 1749-50, in response to the attacks of Benito Jerónimo Feijóo, made him well known. His major work, *Vindiciae lullianae*, was written, however, as a reply to Pope Benedict xiv's censure of the cult of Lull. The most enduring part of this work, the first volume, contains a biography of Lull which, in many ways remained, well into the twentieth century, the basis of later scholarship. See Elies Rogent and Estanislau Duràn, *Bibliografia de les impressions lul·lianes*, *Estudis de Bibliografia lul·liana* 2 (Barcelona, 1927), nos. 344, 350, 388; Tomás and Joaquín Carreras y Artau, *Historia de la filosofía española: Filosofía cristiana de los siglos XIII al XV*, 2 vols. (Madrid, 1939-43), 2:364-68, 371-76. While the main differences between Pasqual's transcription of these documents and my own are duly noted, it should be remembered that the script is an exceedingly abbreviated cursive. I am much indebted to Professor Giulio Silano for his assistance, especially with the legal formulae of Appendix 1. My thanks are also due to the Arxiu del Regne de Mallorca and its director, Sr. Antoni Mut, for permitting the documents to be photographed and published.

24 September 1257.

Blanca, filia quondam F. Picani et uxor R. Lul,^a filii quondam R. Lul, per me et meos facio R. Lul, maritum meum absentem tanquam presentem, procuratorem meum ut in rem suam propriam ad vendendum, inpignorandum et alienandum^b omnes possessiones quas ipse dictus R. Lul habet

^a Picanii . . . Lull (*sic passim*) Pasqual (= P)
delevit

^b omnia bona scripsit MS et postea

in civitate Barchinone et in suis terminis et in Cattalonia et que pertinent et pertinere debeant aliqua ratione,^c dando sibi in supradictis omnem locum^d meum, iura, vices, actiones et petitiones^e tam reales quam etiam personales, ita quod possit predictus R. predictas possessiones vendere, inpignorare et alienare cuicumque voluerit et quamcumque venditionem inde fecerit^f promitto habere ratam^g etc. et quod possit de evictione emptori sive emptoribus omnia bona nostra obligare.

Et quicquid super predictis per predictum R. Lul factum fuerit ratum et firmum habere et non contravenire et iuro et renuncio omni auxilio et beneficio senatus consulti velleyani et iuri ypoteche etc.

Testes: G. de Fonte, R. de Cudenis, et G. de Monteruffo.

ARM, RP, ECR 344, fol. 233v (plate 1).

A. R. Pasqual, *Vindiciae lullianae*, 4 vols. (Avignon, 1778), 1:22, citing "Archivium cartarum regiarum." At the top of the page we have "VIII kal. octobris." Gerónimo Rosselló, *Obras rimadas de Ramon Lull* (Palma, 1859), 33 n. 1, reproduces this document and that in Appendix 2, the first with considerable gaps. Rosselló appears to be the only scholar since Pasqual to look at them for himself. E. A. Peers, *Ramon Lull: A Biography* (London, 1929), 15-16 n. 6, cites the first document from Pasqual; on p. 131 n. 1, he copies Pasqual's text of the second. E.-W. Platzeck, *Das Leben des seligen Raimund Lull* (Düsseldorf, 1964), 67, 73, reproduces both documents from Pasqual, dating them 1256 and 1275. 1275 also appears in Armand Llinarès, *Raymond Lulle: Philosophe de l'action* (Grenoble, 1963), 86.

^c et que . . . ratione] qui procurator vel procuratores debeant aliis tradere *P* ^d sibi . . . omnem] scilicet in predictis nomen *P* ^e petitiones] persecutorias *P* ^f quamcumque . . . fecerit] quod et que venditiones inde faciendas *P* ^g ratum *P*

APPENDIX 2

Lull's wife asks for a guardian
to be appointed for her goods and those of her children.

13 March 1276.

Certum est et manifestum quod Blanca, uxor R. Lulli, venit ante presentiam nostri, P. de Calidis, baiuli etc., asserens et denunciens eidem baiulo quod R. Lulli, eius maritus, est in tantum factus contemplativus quod circa aministrationem bonorum suorum temporalium non intendit et sic eius bona pereunt et etiam devastantur,^a quare suplicando petiit a nobis, cum suis^b intersit, pro se et filiis suis et dicti R. Lulli communibus, quatenus daremus curatorem bonis dicti R. Lulli qui ipsa^c bona regat,^d gubernet, tueatur et defendat et salva faciat, unde nos P. de Calidis, audita suplicatione predicta,^e facta diligenti inquisitione super vita et moribus dicti R. Lulli, cum nobis constet ipsum R. Lulli^f elegisse in tantum vitam contemplativam quod quasi circa aministracionem bonorum suorum non intendat, habita super hoc deliberacione, cum videamus P. Gaucerandi,^g civem Maioricarum, cognatum dicte Blanque,^h qui dictam curam gratis se obtulit recepturum, esse utilem in curatorem et aministratorem dictorum bonorum, damus et assignamus ipsum P. in curatorem et aministratoremⁱ bonorum omnium mobilium et immobilium dicti R. Lulli, dando eidem P. liberam et generalem potestatem regendi, gubernandi, petendi et defendendi dicta bona in curia et extra, in iudicio et extra ipsum,^j utilia agendo^k et inutilia evitando seu pretermittendo, ad salvamentum ipsorum bonorum. Ego igitur^l Petrus Gaucerandi,^m recipiens dictam curam a vobis, P. de Calidis, de dictis bonis, promito ipsa bona pro posse meo regere, gubernare et defendere et inde obligo etc. et iuro et dono fideiussorem Berengarium Cuc, qui obligavit etc.

Testes: Bernardus Rossilion[is], Berengarius de Castilione, et Michael Rotlan.

^a et sic . . . devastantur *om. P* ^b sua *P* ^c ipsius *scripsit MS et postea delevit*
^d ragat *MS* ^e audita habita deliberacione et consilio proborum hominum et sapientum
scrips. MS sed postea delevit, substituendo "facta . . . deliberacione" ^f cum . . . Lulli
om. P ^g Gauserandi *P* ^h cognatum dicte Blanque *add. MS lin. superiore*
ⁱ dictorum . . . aministratorem *om. P* (ipsum *P add. MS lin. sup.*) ^j in curia . . . ipsum
add. MS lin. sup. ^k utilia agendo *om. P* ^l igitur] predictus *P* ^m Guaserandi *P*

ARM, RP, ECR 348, fol. 280v (plate 2).

Pasqual, *Vindiciae lullianae* 1:114 n. 1. Two lines further up the page (above two other short entries) we have "III idus marcii" (13 March [1276]). In the margin, in a later hand, there is a note: "A. [?] c. in sig^o 4, Die 2^a martii 1745" (presumably a reference to the time when Pasqual had this document copied). The omission of some key phrases from the copy was probably the reason why Antoni Rubió y Lluch, when he republished Pasqual's text in 1908, remarked it was "tal vegada inexactament copiat" (*Documents per l'història de la cultura catalana mig-aval* 1:4 n. 1); he hoped that Mateu Obrador would publish a correct text. Rosselló (see the note following Appendix 1) included the first phrase omitted by Pasqual and correctly read "Gaucerandi" but omitted other parts of the document. For some reason Peers considered that "Galcerán" was "in holy orders" (*Ramon Lull: A Biography*, 131); it is clear that he was a lay "citizen of Majorca."

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THE DATE OF ST. MILDRETH'S TRANSLATION FROM MINSTER-IN-THANET TO CANTERBURY

Richard Sharpe

The many Lives of saints which Goscelin wrote for St. Augustine's Abbey at Canterbury have been partially known for centuries, but partial knowledge has its perils. In this note I restore Goscelin's date for the translation of St. Mildreth, which was "corrected" on the basis of an inattentive reading of his account. In his *Translatio s. Mildrethae uirginis*, chap. 17, Goscelin supplied an unequivocal date for the event:¹

que lucifera translatio acta constat anno Incarnationis Christi millesimo tricesimo, <die> quinto decimo Kalendas Iunii, sub Benedicto apostolico Romae, Henrico imperatore, Kenuto Anglici orbis rege, Ægelnotho Dorobernie archipresule, Ælfstano huius triumphii baiulo summi Augustini augustae domus rectore.

In his *Libellus contra inanes s. uirginis Mildrethae usurpatores*, chap. 17, written a few years later, Goscelin repeats this dating clause in almost exactly the same words.² The translation is dated therefore to 18 May 1030, and the feast continued to be kept on 18 May at St. Augustine's.³ Summarizing but not quoting this dating clause, Professor F. Barlow drew attention to a minor problem: of the chronological indicators, Ælfstan was abbot of St. Augustine's from 1027 to 1045/46, Æthelnoth was archbishop of Canterbury from 1020 to 1038, Cnut was king of England from 1016 to 1035, Henry II was emperor from 1002 to 1024 or Henry III from 1039 to 1056, and Benedict IX was pope from 1033 to 1048. Pope and emperor therefore involve a misdating. A further problem arises in the story itself, which tells how the translation was arranged between Abbot Ælfstan, Bishop Ælfwine

¹ London, British Library Cotton Vespasian B.xx, fol. 177v; edited by D. W. Rollason, "Goscelin of Canterbury's Account of the Translation and Miracles of St. Mildrith (*BHL* 5961/4): An Edition with Notes," *Mediaeval Studies* 48 (1986): 176.

² London, British Library Cotton Vespasian B.xx, fol. 269v (268v); edited by M. L. Colker, "A Hagiographic Polemic," *Mediaeval Studies* 39 (1977): 84.

³ F. Wormald, *English Benedictine Kalendars After A.D. 1100*, vol. 1, Henry Bradshaw Society 77 (London, 1939), 55.

of Winchester, and King Cnut around the time of the king's visit to Rome. The king celebrated Easter at Rome in 1027, but Ælfwine did not become bishop of Winchester until 1032, two years after Goscelin's date for the translation. Professor Barlow expeditiously proposed to date the translation to 1035. This solved all the inconsistencies except the conflict over the emperor's name.⁴ The date 1035 was originally given by T. D. Hardy in spite of the fact that Goscelin's date is 1030.⁵ Barlow is the only scholar to have attempted to justify this date, and he has subsequently treated it as fact.⁶

The argument for this date depends on some specific indicators in the story, as told in the *Translatio*. Ælfstan longs to translate the body of St. Mildreth from its resting place at Minster-in-Thamet to his own abbey and is assured by a vision that this will be accomplished through God's grace. To this end he should petition the king (chap. 8). At once he goes to Winchester, to his friend Ælfwine, recently installed in the see to which Ælfstan has himself almost been appointed (chap. 9, compare chap. 6). Ælfwine accompanies Ælfstan into the king's presence; Cnut consents to Ælfstan's appropriating St. Mildreth's church at Minster together with its properties, but he delays a decision over the translation (chap. 9). The king and Bishop Ælfwine then set off for Rome, visiting St. Augustine's on the way (chap. 10). Here Ælfwine urges the king to consent to the translation. Later, as the king returns from Rome, he is caught in a storm while crossing the Channel. He prays to St. Augustine for delivery, offering his *uota* to St. Augustine and St. Mildreth at St. Augustine's Abbey; the storm is stilled (chap. 11), and the king lands in Kent and hastens to Canterbury, where he offers his *uota*. At this point Ælfwine repeats the suggestion that St. Mildreth be translated to the abbey, and the king promptly summons Ælfstan to attend him at Whitsunday. Ælfstan hurries to the king on the Saturday before Whitsunday and receives the royal consent to the translation "cum regiis litteris." On the same day he returns home, and next day,

⁴ F. Barlow, "Two Notes: Cnut's Second Pilgrimage and Queen Emma's Disgrace in 1043," *The English Historical Review* 74 (1958): 650-51.

⁵ T. D. Hardy, *Descriptive Catalogue of Materials Relating to the History of Great Britain and Ireland, to the End of the Reign of Henry VII*, 3 vols. in 4, Rolls Series 26 (London, 1862-71), 1:380. Hardy gives the date 1035 as though this were what the text said. The date 1035 has appeared elsewhere for no apparent reason. A. H. Davis, *William Thorne's Chronicle of Saint Augustine's Abbey Canterbury* (Oxford, 1934), 241, gives the date of the translation as 17 May 1035, while at p. 43 he says 18 June 1030. The text Davis was translating, Thorne, *Chronica*, ed. R. Twysden (London, 1652), cols. 1783, 1910, has the correct date, 18 May 1030, on both occasions; he was following Goscelin closely.

⁶ F. Barlow, *The English Church 1000-1066: A Constitutional History* (London, 1963), 176.

Whitsunday, he goes to Minster (chap. 12). Here, after a day of liturgical celebration, Ælfstan and a few of his own monks go back into St. Mildreth's church at nightfall, barring the door behind them, and set about opening the tomb (chap. 13). Much of the night is spent in unsuccessful efforts to open the tomb, but eventually, in answer to their earnest prayers, St. Mildreth consents to her translation. The tomb is opened, and Ælfstan together with three named companions takes the precious body down to a boat (chap. 14). As they leave the shore, the people of Thanet swarm after them, but their boat takes them swiftly across the Wantsum Channel and up the River Stour—both much wider then than today—to Canterbury. In this way the *furtum sacrum* was effected. The people of Canterbury gathered, rejoicing at the arrival of St. Mildreth among them, and a long spring drought was miraculously ended by her arrival (chaps. 15-17).

Professor Barlow interpreted this account as indicating that the translation occurred on Whitsunday, and noted that Whitsunday fell on 18 May in 1035: Goscelin, it seems, had got the year wrong or his text was corrupt.⁷ At once, most of the chronological problems appeared to be solved, for in that year Ælfwine was bishop of Winchester and Benedict was pope; only the emperor Henry remained as "one obvious error" but "otherwise the chronology is impeccable."⁸ This raised a further question, however, as eight years must have passed since the king's visit to Rome. The question was raised as to whether the king had made a second journey to Rome in the spring of 1035. But where Goscelin describes the king's visit in more detail in another account of the stilling of the storm in the *Miracula s. Augustini*, chap. 5, the attendant circumstances suggest that he had in mind the visit of 1027.⁹ Barlow concluded therefore that there was no "reputable evidence" for a second pilgrimage and that Goscelin had telescoped eight years.

Some of the assumptions here are questionable. If Goscelin was prepared to telescope eight years in this way, it seems inappropriate to set much store by the dates of Ælfwine's or Benedict ix's pontificates. If one can accept the wrong emperor, why not the wrong pope? Ælfwine's role is particularly important because Goscelin involves him both in the king's

⁷ Barlow does not actually mention that Goscelin specifically gives the year as 1030. This date is the reading of all three manuscripts of the *Translatio* and both manuscripts of the *Libellus*. If it were to be explained away as a scribal error, the error must have been in the archetype, for two of the three manuscripts in question were written at St. Augustine's in or very close to Goscelin's time.

⁸ Barlow, "Two Notes," 651.

⁹ London, British Library Cotton Vespasian B.xx, fols. 66r-67v; edited by D. Papebroch, *Acta Sanctorum*, May, vol. 6 (1688), 399-400; (Paris, 1866), 396.

pilgrimage in 1027 and in the final steps before the translation, supposedly in 1035. Goscelin makes him a bishop throughout; Barlow does not object to this in 1027 though it seems to be an implicit objection to Goscelin's date for the translation, 1030. Whatever view one takes in these matters, the proposition that the translation happened on Whitsunday, and therefore in a year when that feast fell on 18 May, does not match the story as Goscelin tells it. Ælfstan left the king on Saturday, went to Minster on Sunday, where he participated in the Whitsun liturgy before retiring, at nightfall, to the church. With the coming of night the feast of Whitsunday was over, and the translation took place on Monday, 18 May. It will come as no surprise that in 1030 Whitsunday was 17 May; the day of the translation was therefore Monday, 18 May 1030—exactly as Goscelin says.

The exactness of this date was presumably a part of the story handed down at St. Augustine's. If the events really happened as described, one could even explain Ælfstan's haste in visiting the king on the day before that appointed: if he could hurry the business to its conclusion and translate St. Mildreth on 18 May, Ælfstan could upstage the cathedral priory of Christ Church, Canterbury, whose principal patronal festival at this period was the feast of St. Dunstan, 19 May. A clash would be unfortunate, but for St. Augustine's to gain a feast for the day before would be a small victory in the liturgical rivalry of the two monasteries.

In other respects Goscelin has treated chronology in a loose manner. He has telescoped three years, named the wrong pope and the wrong emperor, and anticipated Ælfwine's consecration as a bishop. On the latter point Dr. D. W. Rollason wondered whether the accepted chronology of his career might be at fault.¹⁰ There seems to be no reason why this should be so. The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle records the death of Ælfsige, bishop of Winchester, in 1032, and the succession of Ælfwine, *þæs cynges preost*. Ælfwine's position in the royal household is confirmed by the fact that he witnessed three of Cnut's documents as priest, more than any other priest except Stigand.¹¹ In 1033, however, he witnesses as bishop.¹² What seems more likely to have happened is that Goscelin has not troubled to differentiate between Ælfwine's years as a priest in the king's household and his time

¹⁰ Rollason, "Goscelin of Canterbury's Account," 164 n. 50.

¹¹ P. H. Sawyer, *Anglo-Saxon Charters: An Annotated List and Bibliography* (London, 1968) [= S], no. 961 (J. Kemble, *Codex Diplomaticus Aevi Saxonici*, 6 vols. [London, 1839-48] [= KCD], no. 741) [1024]; S 1465 (KCD 745) [1032]; and S 964 (KCD 746) [1033]. Compare L. M. Larson, *The King's Household in England Before the Norman Conquest*, Bulletin of the University of Wisconsin. History Series, vol. 1, no. 2 (Madison, Wisc., 1904), 139, 141.

¹² S 968 (KCD 749) [1033]; S 970 (KCD 752) [1033]; S 976 (KCD 753) [1035].

as bishop of Winchester. It is possible that his allusions to the possibility of Ælfstan's appointment to this see conceal a more complete knowledge of the background to Ælfwine's consecration than can now be verified. The calendrical chronology, then, is to be trusted more than the indications provided by the names of public men.¹³ The theory of a second visit to Rome by King Cnut derives no support from our discussion.

Goscelin's reference to the king's letters confirming his consent to Mildreth's translation might be thought relevant to the dating of a writ of Cnut which ostensibly granted Thanet and Mildreth's body to Canterbury.¹⁴ Miss F. E. Harmer noted that, on the evidence of William Thorne, the late fourteenth-century chronicler of St. Augustine's, "an authentic writ of Cnut notifying the grant would have been issued between 1027, the date of the grant in the traditions of St. Augustine's, and 1035, the date of Cnut's death."¹⁵ Sawyer repeated the date-range 1027 x 1035,¹⁶ but there must surely be a supposition that the writ, if authentic, was issued on the Saturday when Ælfstan received the king's authorization "cum regiis litteris." When Cnut granted Canterbury rights of property over Minster before his visit to Rome, he did not give permission to translate the body. This came in 1030, according to Goscelin.

The authenticity of the writ, however, is questionable, as Miss Harmer notes with differing degrees of emphasis.¹⁷ Goscelin's citation of royal letters concerning the translation might in itself alert one to question the authenticity of the writ which so precisely meets the needs of St. Augustine's in the 1090s. If the writ is spurious, its dating must be approached in a different way. The fact that it is preserved in Latin may also serve as a warning: most of the Latin writs purporting to have been issued by Cnut are untrustworthy. The use of "uicecomitibus" in the address is a clear indication that the present wording dates from after the Conquest. If the writ is a post-Conquest translation of an English original, it is surprising that the translator should use the royal style: "Ego Knut per Dei misericordiam basileus." The word *basileus* seems more like a misplaced attempt at Anglo-

¹³ Professor Colker hesitates over Barlow's correction, "A Hagiographic Polemic," 84 n. 121, and notes that F. Liebermann, *Die heiligen Englands* (Hannover, 1889), pp. ix, xvii, preferred the date 1033. (Liebermann offers no reasons.) Dr. Rollason, having edited Goscelin's account, accepted Barlow's argument: "The date 1030 clearly cannot be right and must be an error for 1035, in which year Whitsunday did indeed fall on 15 Kal. Iunii (18 May)" ("Goscelin of Canterbury's Account," 176 n. 124).

¹⁴ F. E. Harmer, *Anglo-Saxon Writs* (Manchester, 1952; rpt. Stamford, 1989), no. 37, p. 198.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 455.

¹⁶ Sawyer, *Anglo-Saxon Charters*, no. 990.

¹⁷ Harmer, *Anglo-Saxon Writs*, pp. 190, 195-97, 455.

Saxon verisimilitude by a post-Conquest draftsman. Precisely the same formal objections tell against St. Augustine's other supposed writ of Cnut, and I am inclined to regard both as spurious.¹⁸ The earliest textual witnesses to these writs date from the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries respectively.¹⁹ On external evidence, therefore, the forgery may be much later than its suppositious date. Yet Goscelin's words "cum regiis litteris" suggest that at the time he was writing a document existed which could be produced in support of his story. The wording of the extant writ is as follows: "Notum sit vobis omnibus me dedisse sancto Augustino patrono meo corpus sancte Mildribe gloriose virginis cum tota terra sua infra insulam de Tenet et extra. . . ." It does not specify permission to translate the body, and Miss Harmer therefore supposed that Goscelin referred to a lost writ.²⁰ It seems to me possible that the giving of Mildreth's body might be understood as including the permission to translate it, and that this may be the document to which Goscelin refers. The monks of St. Augustine's forged a good many charters in the Anglo-Norman period, and these forgeries were used by the later medieval historians of the house. This is the document cited in connection with the translation of St. Mildreth.²¹ While it cannot be proven that this is the writ known to Goscelin, it seems very probable. The question of whether it was forged for Goscelin's use cannot be answered, but a date in the late 1080s or early 1090s, during the period of dispute with the canons of St. Gregory's, seems inescapable.

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¹⁸ The other is printed by Harmer, *Anglo-Saxon Writs*, no. 36, pp. 197-98.

¹⁹ No. 37 in London, British Library Cotton Julius D.ii (s. xiii), fol. 85v (and other copies of the late thirteenth and fourteenth centuries); no. 36 in London, British Library Cotton Claudius D.x (s. xiv¹), fol. 57r.

²⁰ Harmer, *Anglo-Saxon Writs*, p. 542.

²¹ *Vitae abbatum s. Augustini Cantuariæ*, London, British Library Cotton Tiberius A.ix (s. xiv), fol. 119r.



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